Jeffrey Taylor

IN SEARCH OF THE BUDAPEST SECESSION:

The Artist Proletariat and Modernism's Rise in the Hungarian Art Market, 1800–1914

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For Mom, who made sure I knew
how to write.

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Introduction: The Art Market and Its Models

Art markets require art, and although that would seem to be an easy enough ingredient to find, throughout much of human history that has not been the case. A true art market necessitates a concept of art which emphasizes the creator, produces on speculation, and involves intermediary agents as merchants. The early nineteenth century saw an explosion of art markets on the European periphery which modeled themselves on the core early examples of the Low Countries and France. The salient features of these peripheral markets exhibit a remarkable degree of universality. Whether Berlin, New York, or Pest (Budapest), these locations all found their earliest dealers among book merchants who also traded in prints. They all formed imitations of the Paris Salon in the form of civically based art unions, and that format would be adapted later in the century to larger, state-based national salons. These massive market-monopolizing institutions would begin to fracture towards the end of the nineteenth century and would increasingly be replaced by entrepreneurial dealers who more successfully solved the over-arching, never-ending crisis of the art market: who would allocate the market's most precious asset, its wall-space. This process of market pluralization, often associated with break-away salons, known as Secessions, and with commercially savvy gallery owners, would produce the foundations of the twentieth century art market. The unrelenting force causing the perpetual crisis in the Salon system was the expanding stream of young men and women throwing themselves in to the profession of artist. The market shattered into many facets—official salon, alternative salon, self-staging movements, and new commercial galleries—all driven by a mad scramble for new business models in the face of this massive glut of supply. The mega-movement known as Modernism would represent the only viable escape from this ghetto of the artist proletariat, though the wisdom of this route would only make itself apparent to later generations.

To understand the commonalities the Hungarian art market shared with others on the European periphery requires a somewhat comparative analysis of the core phenomena, which are this shattering of the

market monopoly and the pluralization known as Secession, a term which also serves in Central Europe as a stylistic label often translated to *Art Nouveau* and *Jugendstil.* The term, furthermore, is also used to describe a group seceding from a given art organization to form another exhibition society. Within Central Europe, this term became the proper name of three particularly important institutions: The Munich Secession (1892), the Vienna Secession (1897), and the Berlin Secession (1898). An eponymous Secession never appeared in Hungary, but numerous institutions would at one time or another bear the unofficial mantle of "the Budapest Secession." The later chapters of this book will particularly be concerned with that phenomenon as it took hold in the Budapest art market.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, cracks had already formed in the Paris Salon monopoly model. Gustav Courbet (1819–77) staged his Pavilion of Realism next to the Paris 1855 *Exposition Universelle* in order to be able to show the full scope of his work, including his monumental *Burial at Ornans* and *The Artist's Studio*. The *Salon des Refusés*, which took place in Paris in 1863 and was itself a product of the government's market-constricting policies, drew riotous laughter at such notorious pieces as Éduard Manet's (1832–83) *Le déjeuner sur l'herbe* and James Abbott McNeill Whistler's (1834–1903) *Symphony in White, No. 1: The White Girl*. These two earliest examples of rebellion set the template for the two varieties of revolt: one strives towards greater focus on fewer artists, the other aims at expanded inclusion. New institutions can claim to be both at the same time, but quite soon the stresses of economic survival force the institution to declare an orientation, either towards elitism or inclusion. The first Impressionist exhibition, held under the title *Société Anonyme Coopérative des Artistes Peintres, Sculpteurs, Graveurs*, began in something of both directions, providing space for 30 artists to each exhibit multiple works. Of those who showed, only 7 or 8 achieved the world-wide stature associated with the movement, and the other artists were quickly dropped so that later exhibitions, once they had willingly assumed the label of Impressionism, could focus even more exclusively on those core figures. By 1881 the Salon itself was undergoing a massive constitutional re-alignment as its governance came under ever-more democratic control, with its "citizenry" drawn from the broad-based *Société des Artistes Français*. The structure proved to be inherently designed for dissatisfaction, as demands upon limited display capacity could never

be adequately satisfied, regardless of the decision-making structure. In 1884 the *Société des Artistes Indépendants* was formed in Paris under the motto *Sans jury ni récompense* [No jury or awards] and began to hold an essentially institutionalized *Salon des Refusés* called the *Salon des Indépendants.* In 1890 Ernest Meissonier (1815–91), Puvis de Chavannes (1824–98), and Auguste Rodin (1840–91) led the founding of the *Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts,* which further diversified a permanent pluralistic market of competing institutions by holding what became known as the *Salon du Champs-de-Mars*, usually opening a fortnight after the already existing *Salon de Champs-Élysées*. Their walk-out had largely been in protest of reforms by the president of the *Société des Artistes Français*, William-Adolphe Bouguereau (1825–1905), which attempted to implement expanded access to the Salon at the expense of more established artists. The *Salon du Champs-de-Mars* would come to be regarded as the aristocratic salon, as opposed to the egalitarian *Indépendants.* The 1903 *Salon d'Automne* then emerged in opposition to all the preceding salons, in that it showed openness to the avant-garde but employed a stringent jury.[2]

Any one of these departures could be regarded as the Paris "Secession," depending how one chooses to characterize the term: whether this sort of revolt should be seen as egalitarian or elitist in nature would then determine whether the *Salon des Indépendants,* the *Salon du Champs-de-Mars,* or the *Salon d'Automne* would be the one to best match the model. The terminology—largely drawn from political discourse, with the "revolts," "revolutions," and "secessions" projecting the salon in the role of the state—only partially elucidates disputes that are in fact economic in nature. Each of these new institutions, regardless of their orientation and selection process, advanced a process of market pluralization, and Secessions should be better understood in those kinds of terms. In each case, the seceding artists believe that they have a superior commercial model, which will better provide opportunity for fuller esthetic expression and better insure their own livelihood. The model might advocate no juries or it might demand more severe juries, but whether egalitarian or elitist, the new institution expanded the market by adding new competitor, and on a very practical level expanded the exhibition and distribution capacity of the economic playing field.

The Central European eponymous Secessions should be regarded with a similar attention to these two tendencies, egalitarian and elit-

ist, as those markets progressed through the process of pluralization. Tensions within the Munich *Genossenschaft* had been building since the First Munich Annual Exhibition of 1889, when foreign artists had been widely represented but German painters had been severely juried, and many regular exhibiters were either refused or relegated to "death chambers" (bad locations in back rooms) within the *Glaspalast* [Glass Palace].[3] By 1892 the continuing exacerbation of grievances between a dissatisfied local *Kunstproletariat* and the *Genossenschaft*'s pro-foreigner orientation resulted in a vastly altered exhibition policy:

> The thrust of these proposed changes was to restore to the *Genossenschaft* annuals a democratic foundation that would guarantee equitable treatment for artists of all ages, stylistic orientations, and nationalities. [...] The division of power between the jury and the executive committee, along with the reinstitution of the three-work limit, would effectively turn *Genossenschaft* policy to its populist origins.[4]

The response from many of the most successful artists was to secede and form the *Verein Bildender Künstler Münchens* [Munich Society of Visual Artists], which "repudiated the democratic ethic of the *Genossenschaft*, frankly stating that fairness and equality for all were not its governing principles. Rather, the [Munich] Secession would limit its membership to 'true' or 'genuine' artists."[5] But by 1900 the elitism of the new institution was causing it to regularly reject aspiring artists such as Wassily Kandinsky (1866–1944) and Paul Klee (1870–1940),[6] forcing them into a widening array of further splinter groups such as the *Neue Künstlervereinung München,* formed in 1909, and from which the *Blaue Reiter* group would break away in 1911–12. What drove Kandinsky and his future *Blaue Reiter* comrades to depart was very similar to the "3-painting" rule that ignited the first Munich Secession. In that case the dispute revolved around very specific details of access to wall space because the *Neue Künstlervereinung* maintained a "Vierquadratmeterklausel" clause, which would have allowed Kandinsky, as a director of the group, the right to show up to 4 square meters of canvas jury-free. This prerogative was rejected by the membership, and Kandinsky left.[7] Seen in this light, Munich's most famous art movement should be regarded, in essence, as a secession of a secession of a secession.

In its initial conflicts and departure, the Berlin Secession followed a similar dynamic, in that it too represented a small elite of artists

and connoisseurs.[8] As the historian of the German *Genossenschafts*, Heinrich Deiters, wrote in 1906:

> [The Munich Secession] was created by issues related to the exhibitions, and [...] it was these same considerations that lay at the root of subsequent splits in other chapters, where the ambition of the individual artist made him forget that in any association that is not organized on authoritarian principles, the majority must decide.[9]

Like the Munich chapter, the Berlin Secession differed most from the salon in its exhibition policies: no style or theme was excluded, works were given more space and less crowding, the juries judged more severely, and foreign artists were openly welcomed.[10] The president of the Berlin Secession, Max Liebermann (1847–1935), expressed the orientation quite clearly in his address at the opening of the first show in 1899:

> We are convinced that the massive accumulation of paintings and sculptures goes against the best interests of the public and of art itself. The eye of the visitor is only too quickly fatigued by a long flight of rooms, crammed with paintings, where genuinely good works, always few and far between, are crushed by the weight of mediocrity.[11]

With that statement, Liebermann would very accurately predict what would become the exhibition policy for much of the Western art world for the ensuing century.

The Vienna Secession, however, presents a different paradigm than its German cousins. The rupture, in fact, features elements from both of the two models for market pluralization, both egalitarian and elitist. With the exception of the venerable water-colorist Rudolf von Alt (1812–1905), the *Vereinigung bildender Künstler Österreichs,* as the Vienna Secession was originally known, was composed mostly of younger artists dissatisfied with the exhibition policies of the *Künstlerhaus*.[12] The young artists were dismayed by the treatment of landscapists and, in particular, by the *Künstlerhaus*'s unwillingness to hold a retrospective of the *plein air* painters Theodor von Hörmann (1840–95) and Josef Engelhardt (1864–1941).[13] At the same time, though, like the Munich and Berlin versions, a desire for greater internationalism and receptivity to foreign exhibitors was expressly declared. Furthermore, Vienna's

Secession soon acquired a permanent venue (1898), an asset Munich and Berlin also possessed but which would be denied to any corresponding Budapest institution until 1909. Vienna also proceeded along the pattern of repeated rupture, with the first one occurring in 1905, again along the familiar lines of egalitarian versus elitist. This dispute centered on the sending of works to the St. Louis World Exhibition, and the marginalized artists rebelled and took control away from the "Klimt Group," resulting in the departure of Klimt and his followers' and leaving the organization in the hands of its lesser masters.[14] Gustav Klimt's (1862–1918) new incarnation in the form of the *Kunstschau* of 1908 was not a permanent exhibition society but rather a one-off event (which was, however, revived for an international show a year later). At the same time, a less prevalent but still quite significant society formed in 1900, the *Hagenbund*, which was more inclined to form exchanges with Hungarian institutions (e.g., the *KÉVE*) than the Secession had in fact been willing to do. The *Hagenbund,* like the Secession, held a superior advantage to their Hungarian cousins in that they too had which was essentially a permanent facility, the former market hall in Zeidlitzgasse, leased to them by the Vienna City Council.[15] In both cases, the Secession and the *Hagenbund*, a combination of local and national governmental generosity, together with private patronage,[16] provided relief from that most crucial of commercial considerations: being able to pay the rent.

"Secession" in a Hungarian Context?

The Munich and Vienna examples present an epistemological problem in that they offer quite contrary models: the Munich precedent is a revolt of elite painters against the proletariat mob of *Lederhosen* painters. The Vienna example, to the contrary, shares characteristics of a *Salon des Refusés* model of disgruntled painters arranging an alternative exhibition space for themselves. The Munich model is elitist; the Viennese, however, possesses elements of the egalitarian tendency. They both address the problem of rising numbers among the artist proletariat, which afflicted every European art center during the period, but with different responses. In Munich the proletariat was excluded. In Vienna a certain type of marginalized painters, the landscapists, were defended. In Munich the solution was to be more restrictive; in Vien-

na, to be more inclusive of certain tendencies, particularly landscape, and in fact, this tendency would ultimately capture control of the Secession in 1905. Dating a secession in Budapest becomes finally impossible then, as long as two competing models exist.

Soon after the Secession was launched in Vienna, the question of its arrival in Budapest served as a constant theme among contemporary local art critics—though the *Nemzeti Szalon*'s revolt actually predated the term's usage. (It was only first applied to the Hollósy school and to the Modern Painters' 1904 exhibition at the *Könyves Kálmán.)* Especially during the dramatic years of 1906 and 1907, the word *Secession* could equally be associated with the *Műhely* [Workshop] group, the *KÉVE*, and above all with the *M.I.É.N.K.*'s (*Magyar Impresszionisták és Naturalisták Köre*) [The Circle of Hungarian Impressionists and Naturalists] internal revolt within the structure of the *Nemzeti Szalon*. The Secession question was more or less settled with the establishment of the *Művészház* [Artist's House] in 1909, which out of all of the above institutions, offered the clearest parallel to the Munich and Viennese models in that it occupied a fixed address (though one that constantly changed).[17] Looking at the Munich model, we must wait to find a valid paralleling Hungary until the formation of the *M.I.É.N.K.* in 1907 (though that formation was already predicted in the early exhibitions of the *Könyves Kálmán* and in the First Group exhibition that inaugurated the new *Nemzeti Szalon* building).

What the two models of Secession did have in common, though, is that they almost immediately secured a designated building. This vital element of fixed, wholly-owned real estate would be something never achieved by any institution in Hungary except for the *Nemzeti Szalon* (and only in 1907) and, of course, the *Műcsarnok* itself. In every other case, the other candidates for Secession always rented or borrowed space, and such a burden would greatly endanger their life expectancy.

One of the other impediments to adequately determining the date of the Hungarian Secession is that there is no agreement on whether Secession meant a style, a movement, an enterprise, or an event. Depending on which feature one chose to focus on, one might point to different entities at different times: The *Nemzeti Szalon* in 1907, the *M.I.É.N.K.* of 1908, the *Művészház* of 1909, or also going back as far as the Hollósy School (Nagybánya) exhibition of 1897, or even the original *Nemzeti Szalon* opening above the *Baross Kávéház* in 1894. As a result of all this imprecision, the term's usage today most commonly

does not even apply to painting but rather to architecture and applied arts almost exclusively.

In lieu of these competing ideas of Secession, when it pertains to exhibition societies, a more functional interpretation of the term would be in seeing it not as a breaking but rather as a shattering. No Secession ever provided a long-term clean break, and usually within a few years new entities split and split again. It is this rapid division that represents the most vital characteristic of Secession, and the one that will shape the development of artistic alliances. Secession, for this work's purposes, will be regarded as a process and not a moment.

A Working Definition of Modernism

For every one of Modernism's vanguard artists, there are others who saw themselves as equally pioneering, but, because of the way succeeding generations of art historians have drawn the trajectory of art history, these artists have been left outside the canon and derisively labeled "academic," "salon painter," or "*juste milieu*." The simple frequency with which the term Modernism will be used, especially in Chapters 3 and 4, begs for a functional definition. The first point of clarification would be to understand that "Modernism is not a movement. It is a term that makes conflict and upheaval and a number of contradictory positions."[18] While no clear point of origin has ever been agreed upon, a canonical genealogy of Modernism is widely acknowledged to have begun with Manet and the Impressionists and proceeded then to the four horsemen of Post-Impressionism: Paul Cézanne (1839–1906), Georges Seurat (1859–91), Paul Gauguin (1848–1903), Vincent van Gogh (1853–90). And though this trajectory is largely agreed upon by art historians, the notion of whether these artists represented Modernism, or only proto-Modernism, is not. Recent scholarship has tended to push the start date of Modernism to the first decade of the twentieth century, and Hungarian scholars have recently done so within their own national tradition.

One solution to the disagreement over the fundamental ingredients in Modernism is to stress the multiplicity of its varieties, in other words, not Modernism but modernisms. This trend towards a plurality of modernisms had already been well established in literary studies. Frank Kermode made the seminal distinction in literature of the twen-

tieth century between paleo-Modernism and neo-Modernism.[19] This back and forth neatly conforms to inherited dichotomies and swings in tendency that characterize the Classical/Baroque and Classical/Romantic pendulums which students of art history would already be familiar with. The application of such a model to painting would then label the early cubist (or *formalesque*) artists as paleo-Modernists who harken back to ancient forms. This abstracting tendency is subsequently opposed by the early Dada as a type of neo-Modernism which breaks all ties to inherited aesthetics. The see-saw could then be re-applied to the *Neue Sachlichkeit-Novocento*/Sur-realism counter movements, and finally, on an even grander scale to the Abstract Expressionist/Pop Art swings of the postwar period. While it is functional for understanding variations in Modernism in the twentieth century, unfortunately, such a distinction helps little in understanding who, if anyone, were Modernists in the nineteenth century.

In the most recent major effort to codify the grand term of Modernism, in *Modernism's History* Bernard Smith has turned to the most salient characteristic that caused such a sharp reversal to three centuries of Western artistic development; namely, the turn against mimesis, which he terms the *Formalesque*.[20] To the developments that created the foundations of the *Formalesque* in nineteenth century in Europe, Smith adds an essential ingredient which only becomes widely apparent in the twentieth century: the engagement, brought on by advanced Imperialism, with the exotic, non-European other.[21]

Recent art history publications in Hungary such as the massive catalogue that accompanied an exhibition on the *Nyolcak* [The Eight] also tend to push Modernism back to the twentieth century and to the point when Hungarian artists took full participation in the *Formalesque* experiments going on in Paris.[22] Such a delayed starting date, however, does a great disservice to those artists who had already embarked upon other versions, other modernisms, in the 1890s or earlier. Therefore, a more nuanced understanding of the phenomenon is required, one that fits the Central European context better and moves away from the strictures of the Paris-based, Franco-centric narrative bound to the emerging *Formalesque*. Ilona Sármány has offered an alternative reading of Modernism in Central Europe by adhering more closely to the milieu of Munich, which would have been where the Nagybánya School artists garnered their foundational experiences. Given that Hungarian artists encountered Impressionism relatively

belatedly, Sármány emphasizes other impulses, particularly variants of realism and naturalism informed by a intense study of the human psyche.[23] Furthermore, she points out that Modernism as both a term and a battleground was already well-established in Munich (where these artists trained) by the 1890s.[24]

The most functional of all guidelines, though, would be to allow the subjects themselves to define the term's usage, and they do so with a surprising degree of consistency. Starting from the point when Lajos Ernst (1872–1937) assumed control of the *Nemzeti Szalon*, he embarked upon a series of retrospective exhibitions titled "Modern Hungarian Artists." This same reliable grouping of artists managed to largely coalesce in the next few years in to the *M.I.É.N.K.* Furthermore, their designation was duly reinforced by their enemies in the camp of László Kézdi-Kovács (1864–1942), who continually referred to these artists as the "ultra-moderns." Though the word only came into widespread application in the first years of the twentieth century, the masters to whom the name has been applied, had already produced many of their "modern" works by the last decade of the nineteenth century.[25] Therefore, in order to understand the term fully, in the way the contemporaries understood it, the trajectory must be seen as having arisen both in Paris and in Central Europe, and should not simply be constrained to the experiments of the *Formalesque*. Modern art in the Hungarian context, around 1900, meant, above all else, contemporary, new, and in tune with its own age.[26]

Chapter 1: An Art Market Develops in a Provincial Capital of the Habsburg Empire and Becomes the Center of the Hungarian Art World

Pest did not begin the nineteenth century as an obvious candidate to be the center of a national art world. It assumed that position because of the particular role that this twin city of the ancient royal capital, Buda, played in the development of the Hungarian national consciousness. Pest began the century as an essentially German-speaking provincial capital in a German-speaking empire. By the time the *Pesti Műegylet* [Pest Art Union] was dissolved in the 1860s, Pest was soon to be unified as Budapest, the capital of the Hungarian half of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the undisputed center of an increasingly self-conscious national art market.

Items which we would now consider art objects have been produced in the territory of Hungary since prehistoric times. A market in art objects, however, has only developed in the last 200 years. As Joseph Alsop conceptualized art collecting in *The Rare Art Traditions*, the phenomenon of an art market only exists when art is either produced or later traded along the formula of *art-as-an-end-in-itself*. For most of the 1,100 years since the arrival of the Magyars in the Carpathian Basin, artworks had been produced under the principle of *art-for-use-plus-beauty*, that is they were produced through patronage to serve a very concrete purpose. Winged altarpieces and statuary elucidated the catechism, while portraits commemorated royalty, the aristocracy, the gentry, and even burghers. Even the glorious epochs of flourishing culture under the late medieval monarchs and the renaissance King Mátyás Corvinus (1443–90) did not spawn anything that we could call an art market. Art objects were reproduced strictly according to commission-based demand.

What changed in the nineteenth century in Hungary is that painters began to paint without any specific instructions. They painted without

a patron and to serve no particular function. In order for this change to come about, though, an art market also had to come into being. Until the end of the eighteenth century, a painter in Hungary had to rely on a patron's orders for his income, primarily from the aristocracy or the Catholic Church. Those artists with superior talent usually went abroad both for training and to make a career for themselves. Collectors of art, particularly the aristocracy, made their purchases in Vienna or farther abroad in Venice, Rome, Munich, or Paris. The Hungarian poet and writer Ferenc Kazinczy (1759–1831) noted in 1791, "There are no art galleries as yet in my country, nor is there any active academy of art at the moment; but we will achieve all of this just as Vienna did and eventually will have our own institutions like those of Dresden, Paris, and London."[1]

By the early nineteenth century, the neoclassical tendency for portraiture had penetrated most of the important provincial towns of Hungary and Transylvania, and the local bourgeoisie often provided enough commissions to support a resident portraitist. As a result of educational reforms taking place in the eighteenth century, the study of drawing was becoming part of the standard curriculum at institutions of learning, and drawing schools could be found in most of the larger cities.[2] Drawing, however, was taught with the primary agenda of developing applied drafting skills for commercial design, engineering, and the production of objects. Landscape painting, not surprisingly, was first practiced by engineers and surveyors, and in Central Europe the market for cartography and paintings share a common point of origin in the activity of copper engravers. The work of these engravers, though, is known to us largely due to their importance in the development of music publishing.

Artaria as the Model for the Central European Art Dealer

The model for this triumvirate of business activities (sheet music, graphics, and maps) would be the Viennese firm Artaria & Co., founded by the brothers Carlo Artaria (1747–1808) and Francesco Artaria (1744–1808), copperplate engravers from Lombardy who emigrated to the imperial capital in 1770.[3] They were part of a widespread Artaria clan that was already operating a significant art business in Mannheim.[4] After initially concentrating on graphic printing, by the 1780s the firm

had found a new niche in producing maps. Throughout the nineteenth century their cartography branch would be highly admired for the extreme accuracy and fine detail of their maps, an advantage derived from using copperplate as opposed to lithography. Eventually the firm's map-making activities would be spun off and merged to form Freytag-Berndt and become one of Europe's leading cartographers.[5]

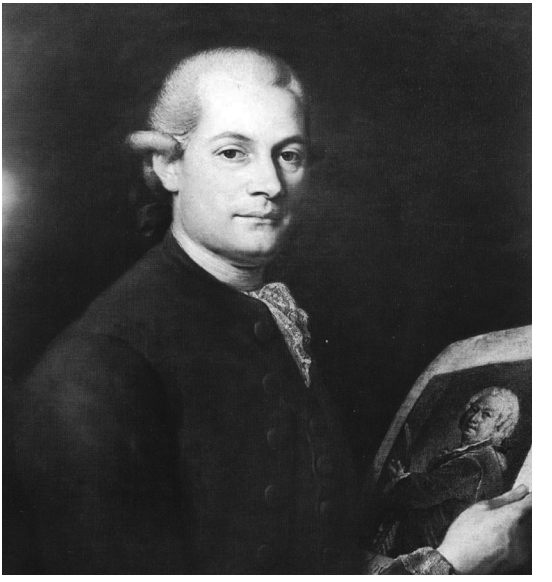


Fig. 1.1. József Kreutzinger, *Portrait of Carlo Artaria*, 1780. Artaria was a pioneer in the field of copperplate printing of maps and sheet music and was also Vienna's first art dealer. Source: *Museum der Stadt Wien.*

Artaria's fame in cultural circles, though, lies primarily in their achievements in music publishing, namely the application of copperplate engraving for printing sheet music. Until this time in Vienna, music had largely been transcribed by hand, and the innovation of copperplate printing played an immense role in disseminating the works of leading Viennese composers. The firm printed hundreds of editions of works by Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven between 1780 and 1850.[6] At the same time, Artaria also continued their original activity of printing graphic works of art. Furthermore, as dealers of reproducible art such as engravings and aquatints (hand-colored engravings), the leap to selling one-of-a-kind works like paintings was a short one. In this sense the Artarias would have been the Habsburg Empire's first

art dealers and would remain a vital force in the art trade well in to the twentieth century.

The eighteenth and early nineteenth-century market for graphics, furthermore, involved a far more complex web of distant business relations than the more localized, consolidated salon system that emerged for paintings in later decades. Artaria had already built a vast network of clients and re-sellers throughout Europe by the 1820s, and in the next two decades alone the firm corresponded with 1,095 clients, primarily dealers and publishers, in 207 different cities with, for example, 68 in Milan, 63 in Paris, 44 in Munich, and 40 in St. Petersburg.[7] The Hungarian aristocracy purchased reliably from Artaria, but so too did the growing ranks of drawing instructors.[8]

Vienna's Dorotheum Auction House had existed since the early eighteenth century, but their sales had exclusively been in the realm of the secondary art market, and Artaria was the first to provide a market for contemporary artists besides the yearly exhibitions at the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts [*Akademie der bildenden Künst*]. Because, unlike book printers, music and art printers were not a protected industry, Artaria led the movement to establish *Kunst und Musikalienhändler* as a separately licensed business activity together with the trade in used books, which was granted in 1806.[9] This connection between used-book dealing and the printing of maps, sheet music, and graphic art would reappear in Pest when the art market that began in Vienna spread eastward.

The Early Art Market in Pest

As in Vienna, the first art dealers in Hungary were located among the book sellers and printers who migrated to Pest, starting in the late eighteenth century. By 1792, there were six known book dealers working in the city,[10] though one was a Jewish book dealer working in the *Orczy Ház* (the core of the old Ghetto) outside the city walls.[11] These merchants usually sold a seamless mix of new books, used books, sheet music, maps, and works of graphic art. The earliest of the dealers could be designated as the venerable Eggenberger firm, which was founded in 1768 by the Bavarian immigrant Johannes Georg [János György] Weingand (d. 1802),[12] who acquired the firm from a Johann Gerhard [Gellért] Mauss (1715–78),whose establishment dated back to 1748.[13]

Weigand's firm printed and sold books on philosophical and medical themes, as well as sheet music, and owned a location in Buda and in Kassa [Košice]. In 1790 Weigand moved the Pest establishment to the *Beleznay Ház*.[14] In the latter eighteenth century the *Beleznay Ház* had become the focal point of Pest's intellectual and artistic milieu, as well a center of Lutheran religious gatherings, under the patronage of the widow Anna Mária Podmaniczky Beleznay Miklósné (1730-1803). It was there, at one of her salons in 1790, for example, that the idea for the seminal journal of the early reform era, *Uránia*, was hatched.[15]

Fig. 1.2. The *Eggenbergium*, or Eggenberger Book Shop on Ferenciek tere, c. 1880. Source: György Klösz photograph. *Budapesti Történeti Múzeum-Kiscelli Múzeum.*

Josef [József] Eggenberger (1768–1850) served as Weigand's assistant for much of the 1790s and acquired control of the firm from the aging Weigand in 1800. The name became solely Eggenberger in 1804.[16] Through much of the nineteenth century it would be run as *Eggenberger és Fia* [Eggenberger and Son] and would eventually be taken over by his son, Ferdinand [Nándor] Eggenberger (d. 1863).[17] The institution would increasingly serve as a trailblazer in the linguistic transformation of the city from German to Hungarian and would be seen as patron and promoter of Hungarian-language literature, as

well as being the writers' favorite gathering place.[18] In 1829, the firm published a 72-page catalogue of Hungarian-language books[19] and in 1839 became the official publisher of the *Magyar Tudós Társaság* [Hungarian Scientific Society], and their publications would list 47 official retailers in Hungarian provincial cities as well as five in Vienna.[20]

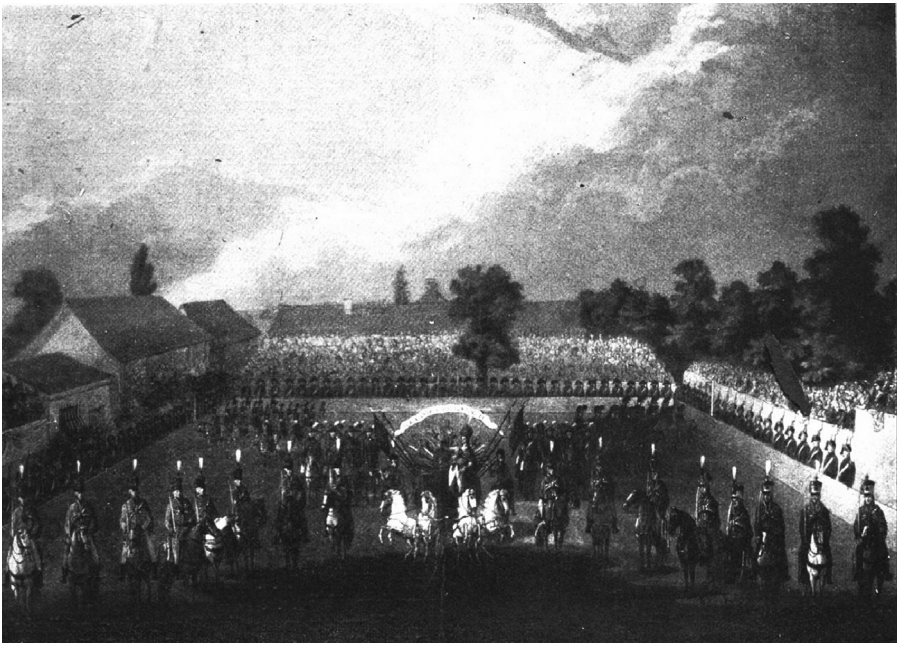


Fig. 1.3. J. Fischer, *Horse shows in Pest*, May 3, 1800, in honor of Archduke Joseph, Palatine of Hungary's marriage to Alexandra Pavlovna. An engraving from the period by J. Fischer. Source: *Uj Idők*, 1910, vol. XVI, no. 7, 163.

In addition to the early book dealers who crossed over into the art business, a few merchants designated themselves as primarily art dealers. The Paregino brothers, Károly and János [Carlo and Giovanni] received citizenship in 1798, and their shop was probably active well into the first decade of nineteenth century.[21] The immigration of Italians to work in the art trade in Pest corresponds closely to the Artaria precedent in Vienna. In addition to the Pareginos, Mihály [Michelo] Conzi operated on Váci utca in the 1820s and 30s, and Péter [Petro] Gontolini worked out in the Terézváros district.[22] In fact, the trading records of Artaria report that the Vienna firm provided Conzi with inventory, as they also did for the book dealers, including Weigand/Eggenberger,

György Kilián (1754–1819), József Müller, Gusztáv Heckenast (1811–78), Ferdinand Tomala (d. 1897), Vincze Grimm (1810– 1872), József Wagner, and Károly Müller.[23] In fact, most of these dealers as well as the lithographers arrived from other locations, some staying permanently while others moved on.[24]

The migration of lithographers into Pest insured that that medium would supersede copperplate as the preferred method of producing marketable graphics. The arrival of lithography can be dated to 1816, when Antal Fülöp Richter exchanged his copper press for one designed for stones, and initiated the trade of lithography, though he himself was an autodidact in the new art form.[25] Richter's motivations for coming to Pest were similar to those of other trained artists of his generation.

Hungary's rich landscape, exotic settings, and historic architecture had attracted him to come and draw those scenes and print them, at first as copper engravings[26] but then increasingly as lithographs, which were cheaper to produce and offered a longer print run. He began to find a regular market for his work by providing illustrations to the new general interest publication *Hasznos mulatságok* [Useful Entertainments].[27] In the first decades after the advent of the lithography business, the printers served as their own merchant, but increasingly they would rely on designated retailers to distribute their works. The example of József Trentsenszky (d. 1839) illustrates this tendency towards specialization. Although he had started a press on Dorottya utca, he also opened a retail location on Váci utca. The resale of graphics proved more profitable than the production of his own, and he closed the press by the 1830s. When he allied with a Viennese printer, Ágost Frigyes Walzel (c.1790–c.1860), the other Pest dealers, Grimm, Tomola, Müller, and Conzi, protested to the authorities, which resulted in Trentsenszky being granted permission only to resell his own and Walzel's production but not other foreign works.[28] These firms' rivalry with one another frequently descended to dirty tricks; a case in point would be when Tomola accused a lithographer in Losonc [Lučenec] of counterfeiting money. The accused responded by stating that Tomola sold "scandalous" pictures in his shop that corrupted the youth and showed demagogic and caricaturing pictures in his display window.[29]

The market for one-of-a-kind painted works began to develop only slowly in Pest, with most of the commerce taking place in the artist's own studio according to a two-agent model (producer–consumer).

The earliest one-man show also evolved in this format. In 1828, the *Hasznos Mulatságok* reported on an exhibition of two immense historical works, *Matthias meeting with Beatrix* (3.5 meters high) and *Maria Zsigmond's Betrothal to the Prince of Brandenburg* (1.8 meters high), along with portraits and drawings by the Miskolc painter, Mihály Wiganz.[30] The multi-talented Wiganz would also form one of the earliest Hungarian-language theater troupes,[31] and he later submitted a painting as part of the *Pesti Műegylet* salon of the 1841.[32] His show in Pest, at a studio which he rented specifically for the event, marks the earliest recorded atelier exhibition on the Pest market,[33] and also designates him as pioneer in the direction of national historic painting, which would come to dominate Hungarian tastes from the middle of the century.

Eggenberger had another competitor in the multi-faceted model of printer, book-dealer, and art-dealer that was not an individual but rather a firm. The *Kunst- und Industrie-Comptoir* had arisen in Vienna as a rival to Artaria, and in 1804 managed to lure away Beethoven's printing business.[34]

In 1805, J. Seyrer became their representative in Pest, but he went bankrupt within a year. In 1806, Joseph Schreyvogel took over the inventory and sold the company's sheet music and etchings at his shop in the Schorndorfer House, today's Váci utca 13.[35] The Pest branch must have been perceived as a vital portion of the firm's activity, since they stamped their printing of Beethoven's Razumovsky Quartet: *Vienne aux Bureaux des Arts et d'Industrie, a Pesth chez Schreyvogel et Comp*.[36] In 1808 Josef Reidl became the manager in Pest, and would hold that position intermittently until 1822. During this time the shop also began making its own prints, not just reselling those from Vienna. In 1822, Károly Lichtl acquired the business and ran it until 1831, when he turned it over to Vincze Grimm.[37]

It was probably here that Ferenc Kazinczy (1759–1831) would have seen an aquatint by Horace Vernet (1789–1863) (printed by Jeanne-Pierre Marie Janzet), *The Crossing of the Bridge at Arcole*, which he described as "the most beautiful historical painting he had ever seen whether painted or engraved."[38] Grimm also, for example, offered a lithographic series from paintings of the *Dresden Gemäldegalerie*.[39] Both Grimm and his rival, Ferdinánd Tomala, carried on this medley of inter-related activities: copperplate and lithographic printing of maps, sheet music, and graphic art, and at the same time dealing in the resale

of used-books. In 1835 he acquired Anton Einsle's (1801–71) portrait of the icon of the reform era, István Széchenyi (1791–1860), and undertook its printing and distribution.[40]

The Danube flood of 1838 took a catastrophic toll on this first generation of dealers. Tomola was ruined and more or less went out of business due to the total destruction of his inventory.[41] It was a tragic end to Tomola's aspirations, since he had worked for 11 years in Hartleby's service and had finally acquired his own press only three years before the flood.

Fig. 1.4. Henrietta Kärgling, *The Great Flood*, 1840. The Great Flood of 1838 destroyed much of the inventory of the early art and book dealers. Source: *Budapesti Történeti Múzeum-Kiscelli Múzeum*.

In addition to the book dealers and printers, pawnshops would have also dealt in the resale of artworks. The predecessor of today's *Bizományi Kereskedőház és Záloghitel Rt.* [Consignment Dealer and Pawn-credit Share-held Company, widely known as *BÁV* today] was at that time the First Hungarian Royal Pawnbroker, which had moved from Pozsony [Bratislava] to Buda in 1787 and to Pest in 1802. It should be noted, however, that, unlike the Dorotheum, the firm did not con-

duct auctions until 1920. Furthermore, neither of these auction houses should be considered an art dealer in the modern sense because, although they might have engaged in the resale of art objects, the objects were sold without any of the corresponding marketing or salesmanship that is the essential "value-added" of the art dealers' trade.

The transition back and forth between lithographer and retailer would occur frequently, and individuals often re-appraised the best usage of their own labor, assessing whether they would prosper better as a producer or merchant. The imperfect and permeable division of labor between artist and arts manager that first appears in the graphics business will then reproduce itself in the maturing market for paintings. The pattern is best illustrated by the narrative of Vincze Grimm, mentioned above, who acquired the *Kunst- und Industrie-Comptoir* in 1831 and is the first art dealer of Pest-Buda about whom we can shape much of a profile. Like many of the other printers and book sellers of Pest, he had migrated to the city from the west. He came from Vienna to Pest in 1823; originally to work as an apprentice actuary with the Duna-Tisza Channel Company, where he was also able to develop his passion for painting and etching. Around 1826 he entered the printing trade full-time.[42] He served first as an apprentice to Lichtl before taking over the business and eventually dropped any reference to the *Comptoir* and instead used the imprint *Grimm V. és Tsa*.[43] Even while operating a printing house and its retail outlet, he found time to indulge in his obsession for chess, and it is probably through his role as president of the Pest Chess Society that he came to know the future leader of the 1848 revolution, Lajos Kossuth (1802–94), who happened to live in the house where the society met.[44]

By 1842, Grimm had sold the retail outlet of the *Comptoir*, or *Mív és Szorgalomtár,* as it was known in Hungarian, to József Treichlinger.[45] It is possible that he sold the shop because of hardship caused by the Great Flood or because he became displeased with the commercial side of art. Treichlinger transformed it into one of the most elite of the city's art dealers and in the first year of operation, in direct competition with the *Pesti Műegylet* [Pest Art Union], he raffled 560 oil paintings, etchings, and lithographs.[46] Divorced from the retail business, Grimm now turned his attention more fully towards lithography. During this time he printed numerous graphic works of art, maps, an atlas for children, an illustrated picture book of the natural world, and

a catalogue of Hungarian crests and heraldic symbols.[47] However, he also ran afoul of the censor and was on the verge of having his press seized. He avoided the seizure, though, by putting his press in the possession of the printer Walzel (who had by now migrated to Pest from Vienna) and portraying himself as an employee.[48] The event surely helped to cement Grimm's anti-Habsburg sentiments. Between 1845 and 1848 Grimm headed the "Triumvirate" of outstanding Hungarian chess players (which also included Johann Jakob Löwenthal and József Szén), which defeated the Parisian Chess Club, earning world fame for the Pest Chess Society. As an ardent republican, he enthusiastically supported the 1848–49 Revolution, and because of his skill as a lithographer, he became the National Bank's chief engraver for the so-called Kossuth Forint notes. When the government fled to Transylvania in 1849, he made detailed drawings and a cartographical survey of the secret burial location of the Hungarian Crown.[49]

Even with all the tumult of the revolution, Grimm managed to record his thoughts on art in the didactic poem format known as *Lehrgedicht*, and these were printed as *Theorie der nützlichen Künste* [Theory of Useful Arts][50] in 1849.[51] Together with Kossuth, he fled into exile in the Ottoman Empire. While others, including Kossuth, chose to travel on to other countries, Grimm went to Aleppo (in today's Syria) because of the city's reputation as the home of one of the great Arab chess masters, Stamma. Once there, however, he was disappointed to find no one familiar with the master, nor could he locate any ancient Arabic texts on the subject.[52] He would, however, find work in the city with the Ottoman military as their local cartographer. Later, after he moved to Istanbul in order to serve the General Command as their chief cartographer and archivist, his skills as a lithographer also became known, and he was employed by the imperial mint to design the Ottoman currency. He would eventually convert to Islam and take the name Mustapha Bey. Due to his role in the 1848–49 Revolution, Grimm did not think it safe to risk traveling to London to compete in the 1851 World Championships, which was considered a great tragedy in chess circles, as he was regarded as one of the era's absolute top players in the world. In 1868, with the amnesty that followed the Compromise of 1867, Grimm returned to Budapest and lived there until his death in 1872, staying with his sister Paula, a famous actress, at her flat on Király utca.[53]

The Establishment of the *Pesti Műegylet*

Thanks to his standing as a chess player and lithographer, Grimm's fascinating life is relatively better documented than those of his rivals of the era. His narrative, however, would not be so interesting from the perspective of the art market if not for the exhibition he staged in 1840 that became the founding event in the development of a salon-based monopolistic market in Hungary. The shift to a monopoly-model market made sense at a time when purchasing power was rising to a level where more and more original artworks could also be absorbed. Furthermore, the early pluralistic market had been utterly devastated by the flood of 1838. An essential recognition of the need for an art exhibiting association had been in the public discourse for nearly a decade. Széchenyi, the leading statesman of the era, had declared in his seminal work, *Hitel* [Credit]: "It's no surprise that no one exhibits. Who would exhibit? Just as a lonely individual? Only with an association would such a thing have a long life, and real gravitas."[54] The journal *Honművész* [Homeland Artist] published an appeal in 1834 for an exhibition of art at the Pest Lutheran Lyceum.[55]

When the institution of the *Pesti Művészeti Egyesület* [Pest Art Society] did finally come into existence in 1840, it did so in the form of a civically-supported association, which had become a priority to the patriotic-minded reform era elites.[56] Grimm's essential role began when he joined a group which formed in 1838 around the young Ágoston Trefort (1817–88), a twenty-two-year-old economist whose travels in Western Europe and Russia had taught him the importance of art in the development of civic virtue. It seems that the artistic glories of St. Petersburg left a particularly deep impression on the young man.[57] Trefort publicized the idea of a Pest art society which would develop a buying public, nurture young talent, and insure that established painters remain in their homeland. This appeal referenced all of the touchstones of romantic national identity as well as liberal/rational justifications in that peculiar mixture that characterized the reform generation of nineteenth-century Pest.[58] His call attracted the attention of the circle associated with the reform-minded journal *Budapesti Szemle,* which included Baron József Eötvös (1813–71) and Grimm. Within months, an organization called the *Pesti Művészeti Egyesület* was formed as a revenue-generating non-profit share-holder entity, with a sin-

gle share costing five forints. Its formation resembled other current *Kunstvereine* which existed in most of the German-speaking cities of Central Europe and was spurred on by civic-enthusiasts who hoped to help Pest catch up with the more modernized societies of Europe. To the founders, their primary goal was to jump-start the emergence of a national artistic culture, and they themselves, not artists, largely comprised the early membership, and so the group did not resemble the trade-union model of the Munich organization. Membership quickly grew, so that by the end of the first year the *Műegylet* had 666 members,[59] though many of them had reportedly joined in order to receive the free copper etching that came with the purchase of a share.[60]

The First Exhibitions of the *Műegylet*

Grimm was charged with organizing the first exhibition in late 1839, and in that capacity, his experience in the art market came to be of great assistance. He had already been in contact with the various *Kunstvereine* for years as they sent him inventory for his shop, and he was able to use his Dorottya utca establishment as the warehouse for the arriving works, as well as for the jurying process.[61] Grimm devoted essentially his entire store of financial, cultural, and social capital to pulling the exhibition together. A leading local Hungarian painter, Miklós Barabás (1810–98) reported that Grimm used his excellent contacts with the circle of Viennese art dealers and artists to collect art works. He shipped 180 of them at one time from Vienna to Pest, largely at his own expense.[62] Conquering the logistics problems took over eight months, and the first show opened on June 7, 1840.[63]

The first *Pesti Műegylet* could serve as a snapshot for the Pest dealer's conception of the art world of his day, one that was largely Germanic in content, radiating out of the centers of Munich and Vienna. Much of the content of the exhibition was a continuation of the Vienna *Kunstverein*, which had opened on April 7. Furthermore, after the close of the Pest exhibition, most of the works were to travel on to the Trieste art union. Of the Pest collection's approximately 330 works, all but 60 originated from the earlier Vienna event.[64] The stars of the show were a trio of leading Austrian masters, Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller (1793–1865), Friedrich Amerling (1803–67), and Josef Danhauser (1805–45). The twenty-five-year old *wunderkind*, Danhauser,

was doubly featured, as his work *Mother's Care* was chosen to be printed as the *Műegylet*'s first graphic, a copy of which was provided to each shareholder. He also provided the show with its centerpiece painting, *Liszt at the Piano,* to which was devoted the entirety of the last of the five exhibition rooms. The work showed Franz [Ferenc] Liszt (1811–86), performing with a bust of Beethoven on his piano. It was exactly at this time that Liszt would make his tours of fund-raising concerts around Central Europe so that a statue of Beethoven could be erected in Bonn. The concerts produced the phenomenon of "Lisztomania"[65] and made Liszt into the first performing artist in the model of the twentieth-century rock star. Danhauser could not have chosen a more ideal topic than the form of Liszt himself to characterize the tensions between German and Hungarian identity that would plague the *Pesti Műegylet* and eventually spell its demise. Liszt represented the pinnacle of Hungarian cultural achievement for his generation, and yet he could not and would not ever be able to speak the Hungarian language properly.[66] The painters of the *Műegylet* often went through a very similar process of voluntarily embracing nationality. The later nation-state-based ethnic identities assigned to artists of this period is so riddled with inconsistency and hypocrisy that it creates more confusion than comprehension. The modern nation-state's attempts to simplify the complex individuals of the Habsburg Empire by dividing them into Hungarians and non-Hungarians, then as now, does those artists no small disservice. Yet it would be this perpetual conundrum of what constitutes the requisite level of Hungarian-ness that eventually drove the *Műegylet* into obscurity when it faced a rival in the 1860s in the form of the *Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat* [The National Hungarian Art Society] (*OMKT*).

The collection of the 1840 exhibition not only reflected Grimm's conception of his art world and was almost exclusively based in the Germanic zone of Central Europe. France, England, Italy, and the Low Countries were almost unrepresented. Those painters with French and Italian sounding names had relocated to the Habsburg Empire and largely made their career there, or the names were simply made-up. Louis (Lajos) Boutibonne (d. 1840s), born in France, had been teaching drawing in Pest for almost two decades, and he had only very recently relocated to Vienna, in 1840. The exhibition featured two of his works, *Mother's Love* and *The Source*. The second, though, has the artist listed as E. Boutibonne and so probably is in fact by his son,

Charles Edouard (Károly Ede) Boutibonne (1816–97). The son was a student of Amerling, who would win a gold medal at the Paris Salon seven years later and eventually move to France and become a fashionable academic-style painter.[67] The other French name belonged to Theodor (Tivadar) Heinrich Alconiere (1798–1865), who was actually born Hermann Cohn in Nagymarton (Mattersburg) and was probably Hungary's first painter of Jewish origin. He changed his name upon converting to Catholicism. He would work both in Hungary and in Vienna during this period, and by the time of the exhibition had already achieved a good deal of fame from his 1837[68] allegorical equestrian portrait *Count Széchenyi at the Iron Gate.* His entries in the 1840 *Műegylet* exhibition included an equestrian portrait of Napoleon which made his republican sympathies abundantly clear, much as his Széchenyi portrait emphasized his Hungarian sympathies. Yet despite his affection for his homeland, he operated his studio out of Vienna, and moved among the circles of Vienna's elite artists such as Amerling and Danhauser.

Jacopo Marastoni's Reign over the Art Market in the 1840s and 50s

The Italian Jacopo or Giacomo [Jakab] Marastoni (1804–60) was born in Venice and studied art there as well as at the Academy in Rome and eventually settled in Vienna. By 1835 he had migrated to Pest on the strength of his portraiture business, after he had first made a name for himself in Pozsony [Bratislava, Pressburg].[69] He opened a studio in the Nákó House directly opposite the Chain Bridge (then under construction) at the site of today's Gresham Palace Four Seasons Hotel.[70] At the 1840 *Műegylet* he showed 25 paintings; far more than any other exhibitor. These included a large number of portraits, as well as certain genre paintings which he could sell successfully, like *Venetian Water Women.*

By 1845, Marastoni, a Venetian, had become the single most dominant figure of the nascent Hungarian art world by holding the chair of the *Műegylet*'s three person jury. In 1846, he would further insure that his legacy surpassed the moderate contribution of his stilted Biedermeier portraiture by founding the earliest institution of artistic higher education in Pest-Buda, the *Első Magyar Festészeti Akadémia* [First Hungarian Academy of Painting].[71] It based its curriculum on

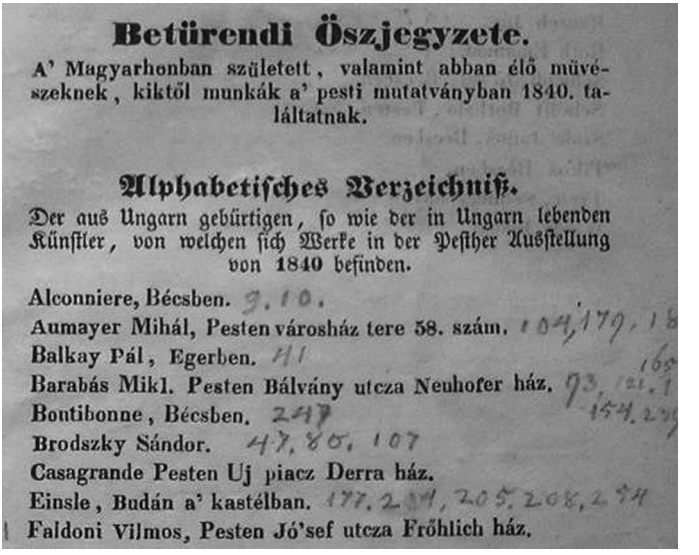
what Marastoni had learned in Rome. Among its numerous progeny are two giants of later nineteenth-century art, Károly Lotz (1833–1904) and Mihály Zichy (1827–1906), and his service earned Marastoni the title of Honorary Citizen of Pest.

Curiously, as important as Marastoni remains to the development of painting in Hungary, he holds even more important status in the advancement of another medium, photography. He was the first in Hungary to employ the new daguerreotype in 1842, a remarkably precocious date, given that it was only patented in 1839. His studio in the Nákó House served both for painted and photographic portraits, and when he travelled to the countryside, he produced both types. For example, when he set up shop briefly in Kolozsvár [Cluj, Klausenburg], he produced 100 daguerreotypes[72] and 20 paintings.[73] His two sons also each became important portraitists in their own right. In 1859, Marastoni became blind and soon went mad and had to be confined to an insane asylum, where he died not long after. The school he had established quickly collapsed in his absence, and its equipment would be donated to the future *Iparrajz Iskola* [Industrial Drafting School].

Struggles within the *Pesti Műegylet* over Hungarian-ness

The back two pages of the 1840 catalogue listed all those painters who were born in or living in "the Hungarian Homeland,"[74] together with their current address. The wording of the categorization highlights the difficulty in defining what a Hungarian artist is. At the time, Hungary did not exist as a separately defined entity within the Empire, and only the consciousness of the historical territories remained. Furthermore, many of those born inside of that entity were not of Magyar ethnicity, and many of the leading figures working within Hungary had immigrated from elsewhere. Therefore, the phrasing allowed for maximal inclusion in order most advantageously to portray the body of Hungarian artistic excellence. The listing of painters who qualified under these broad conditions reflects the liberal, cosmopolitan atmosphere of Pest at mid-century. The show featured painters of Jewish origin, such as Alconiere and Emanuel [Imre] Roth (1814–70), a portraitist from Kassa [Košice]. We can also observe the emergence of Hungary's earliest female painters: Ilona Pfeffer, Henrietta Kärgling (1821–?), and the Countess Berta Gyertyánffy Nákó (1819–1882). We know little

about Pfeffer except that she was probably the daughter of Ignacz Pfeffer, who also exhibited at the show.



Betürendi Öszjegyzete.

A' Magyarhonban született, valamint abban élő müvészeknek, kiktől munkák a' pesti mutatványban 1840. találtatnak.

Alphabetisches Verzeichniß.

Der aus Ungarn gebürtigen, so wie der in Ungarn lebenden Künstler, von welchen sich Werke in der Pesther Ausstellung von 1840 befinden.

Alconniere, Bécsben. 9, 10.
Aumayer Mihál, Pesten városház tere 58. szám. 104, 179, 18
Balkay Pál, Egerben. 41
Barabás Mikl. Pesten Bálvány utcza Neuhofer ház. 93, 121, 154, 23
Boutibonne, Bécsben. 247
Brodszky Sándor. 47, 80, 107
Casagrande Pesten Uj piacz Derra ház.
Einsle, Budán a' kastélban. 177, 204, 205, 208, 211
Faldoni Vilmos, Pesten Jó'sef utcza Fröhlich ház.

Fig. 1.5. Listing of artists in the first *Pesti Műegylet* exhibition who were either born in or living in the Hungarian Homeland [*Magyarhonban*]. Source: *A Pesti Művészeti Egyesület* *által* *184oben a Városi Tanczterem* *Épületben* *Kiállitótt Művek Lajsztroma—kunstwerke der Austellung welche der Pesther Kunst-Verein im Jahre 1840 in kön. Stadt. Redouten-Gebäde verandstaltet hat.*

Kärgling, however, would emerge as a rising talent principally due to the acclaim she would earn from the pictures she showed at these exhibitions. In the first *Műegylet* she showed no fewer than seven paintings. As the daughter of an immigrant Augsburger painter, Johann Tobias Kärgling (1780–1845), her education began early and culminated in Munich, at that point the leading center for artistic training in Central Europe. On the strength of her reputation, she would relocate to Vienna where she received numerous commissions and probably painted over 100 portraits and miniatures.[75] She then married a famous Viennese pianist and gave up her auspicious career.[76]

The most fascinating of these women, however, remains the remarkably gifted Countess Nákó. She was born to an impoverished aristocratic family as Berta Gyertyánffy but was allowed to study painting in Vienna under instruction from Amerling (who also painted her portrait).

Fig. 1.6. Friedrich von Amerling, *Countess Nákó,* 1855. Source: *Gróf Nákó Kálmánné festményeinek kiállítása az Országos Iparművészeti Múzeumban, 1906.*

She married the extremely wealthy Count Kálmán Nákó from Nagyszentmiklós [Sânnicolau Mare] and lived in Pest at the prominent Nákó House, owned by her husband's uncle. There she held one of the period's liveliest and most cultured salons, which hosted Franz Liszt and Richard Wagner (1813–83) (she herself was an accomplished musician), as well as the leading painters of the era (not surprising given that Marastoni had his studio in the same building). The paintings she submitted to the 1840 *Műegylet* were two alpine landscapes. We do not know what those works looked like, but she would become increasingly interested in painting the gypsies who lived near their estate in Nagyszentmiklós, and surviving examples of those works in Hungarian and Austrian National Galleries reflect an extremely accomplished and sensitive painter. She would form a choral group made up of gypsy women and become quite close to one of them, Piciána, whom she dressed as a noblewoman and kept as a kind of maid in waiting.[77]

Even given the very inclusive wording for the artists' listing at the end of the catalogue, of the over 200 painters appearing at the exhi-

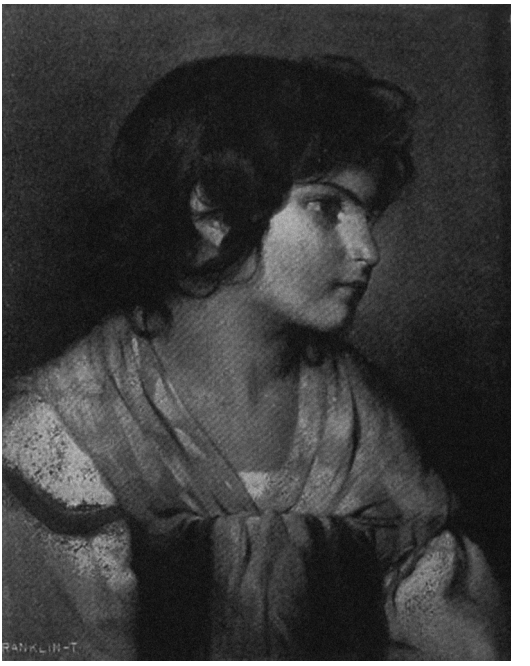


Fig. 2.15. Countess Bertha Nákó, *Gypsy Girl*. Source: *Gróf Nákó Kálmánné festményeinek kiállítása az Országos Iparművészeti Múzeumban, 1906*.

bition, only 34 were designated as from or working in Hungary, and only 10 of those had Magyar-sounding names. Among the leading Hungarians exhibiting, Károly Markó the elder (1791–1860) was working in Florence. He would initiate a pattern among first-rate Hungarian painters of spending much of their career abroad and maintaining contact with the homeland largely by sending back work for the local salons. In Markó's case, he submitted three Italian landscapes, one of which was already owned by the National Museum's Picture Gallery, and the other two were the property of Count György Károlyi (1802–77). So in fact, none of them was for sale, and it appears that Markó made little effort to provide the show with anything especially Hungarian in theme.

The role of national champion would have to be left to the 30-year-old Miklós Barabás. Of all the leading Hungarian painters, he alone appears to have produced a new piece specifically for display at the exhibition,*The Pigeon Post,* which his contemporaries apparently took not only as an image of pathos but also one of patriotism. It would

be one of the paintings bought by the *Műegylet* for its raffle, a lottery in which members could win artworks.[78] Barabás would continue to be the single most prominent Hungarian during the early period of the *Műegylet* and served as the head of the selection jury in 1841 and 1842. In addition to Barabás, we see the emergence of a younger generation of painters taking advantage of this new opportunity to display their work. Among them was József Schmidt (1810–75), who provided the most Hungarian-themed paintings for the show: three historical paintings from the era of the Turkish Wars, *Matthias Corvinus knighted by his father after the Siege of Belgrade* (which received the significant distinction of being the first lot in the catalogue of oil paintings), *Giovanni da Capistrano,* and *The Death of János Hunyadi.* Schmidt, who was born in Pest, had by this time settled in Vienna, and so these most Hungarian of works were actually painted in the Austrian capital.

The painters who exhibited at this first *Műegylet* demonstrated, if nothing else, that it was going to be very difficult to determine what a Hungarian artist was. As the original definition indicated, the individual could be anyone born within the historical territories, as well as anyone currently working there. Actual Magyar ethnicity, a Magyar name, or even the ability to speak the Magyar language were not considered a requirement. Yet despite the vast inclusiveness of those parameters, a recurring criticism of the *Műegylet* would be that it failed to promote the interests of Hungarian painters; that it showed and sold too many foreign works and not enough Hungarian ones. The debate about the Hungarian-ness of the content of this first exhibition would still be boiling in 1909, when the leading art journal of the day, *Művészet*, would publish an article looking back upon the event and write:

> We should also note that, although it is often noted, the Hungarian origin of the artists was sometimes neglected to be mentioned in the catalogue, yet both the Hungarian-sounding name of the artist and its Hungarian subject would have made it desirable [to know more]; so it will be difficult to establish whether, in the case of several, already forgotten artists, they were Hungarian or not.[79]

Despite the catalogue's lenient categorization, the author here seems to yearn in vain that even more individuals than the 34 Hungarian painters already designated could somehow have been discovered.

To that end, the article even suggested that Jakab Alt (1789–1872), the highly regarded water-color landscapist, might be considered a Hungarian painter simply on the basis that he frequently painted Hungarian regions.[80] That this debate could carry on for almost 70 years indicates, more than anything else, that the issue was never going to be resolved given the ethnic complexities and overlapping identities of the late Habsburg Empire.

Despite its irresolvable nature, the debate would serve as the primary vehicle for criticism by the *Műegylet's* detractors. They claimed that its exhibitions largely served as a venue for foreign painters; one where local painters could discreetly insert their works, hoping to have them improved by the proximity of their more esteemed neighbors. One commenter noted that the *Műegylet's* exhibitions were no different than a demonstration of English steam engines, to which the Hungarian population was invited to learn from the foreign models.[81] Or as another critic said more bluntly, "one thing is certain, there is no society more un-Hungarian than the *Pesti Műegylet*."[82] Such a critique may seem unfair when one considers the organization not from a Hungarian perspective, but from an Imperial one. At that time, Budapest did not exist, and Pest itself was in the midst of a transition from a German-speaking town to a Hungarian city. Vincze Grimm, that earliest of arts managers, still preferred to publish his own writings in German, and to him it would have made perfect sense that the elite art of the empire's centers(Vienna as capital and Munich as artistic capital) should be brought out for display to a regional center like Pest. Perhaps the *Műegylet's* problem lay in the fact that it accurately represented the populace of Pest in 1840; but then Pest itself changed fundamentally during the more than two decades of the institution's operation. Once a provincial center in a German-speaking empire it was soon to be the Hungarian-speaking capital of the Hungarian Kingdom.

A very important feature to understand regarding the workings of the *Műegylet* was that it sold very few paintings directly to collectors; rather it raffled them. At the first exhibition in 1840, the *Műegylet* itself bought 35 paintings (31 oils and 4 pastels), only 8 of which were Hungarian.[83] The purchases for the raffle amounted to the largest share of the organization's expenses for the year, with a total of 4,007 forints and 36 kreuzer being spent,[84] an average of 114 forints per work. The amount spent on raffle paintings was nearly double the amount from sales directly to collectors, which was only 2,757 forints.[85] The raffle

paintings were raffled off to dues-paying members. Such a method of distributing paintings produces a perverse market, if it can be called a market at all. Buyers do not expend their own resources, but rather seek to take advantage of a windfall opportunity, and so fail to demonstrate authentic market behavior. The raffle method, however, despite its anti-market structure, could still not fail to reflect the public's preference for foreign art works. In later years, raffle winners routinely chose to redeem their winnings in the form of a foreign etching rather than a local original oil painting. By 1846 the Hungarian painters were already lobbying for at least a 25% share of the raffle offerings coming from local painters.[86]

The *Műegylet* never acquired a permanent exhibition space. Rather, it initially had its shows in the receptions halls on the first floor of the old Redoute (the old *Vigadó*) from 1840 to 1847, but the siege of Pest in 1849 severely damaged that building. When the *Műegylet* was revived in 1851, after a three-year hiatus following the failed revolution of 1848–49, its exhibitions moved to an address in Nádor utca in 1851, then to the National Museum in 1852, and finally, for the show in 1853, the group found a home at the Diana Baths. The *Pesti Magyar Kereskedelmi Bank* would later occupy the location of the Baths but the *Műegylet* would continue to hold their exhibitions there.

The art world of mid-nineteenth-century Pest was a small one: it featured a series of book shops and graphics retailers running from Ferenciek tere along Váci utca to Ferenc József tér (today's Széchenyi tér) opposite the Chain Bridge, where the Nákó House hosted both its salon and the leading studio (Marastoni's). Immediately adjacent was the *Műegylet's* home, the Diana Baths/*Pesti Magyar Kereskedelmi Bank,* and one block away lay Marastoni's academy. Even after the *Műegylet*'s successor, the *OMKT*, established itself out on the new Sugár út (today's Andrássy út),[87] this nexus of old Pest would continue to exert a powerful hold over the art trade, and two of the most potent forces in the development of modern art, the *Nemzeti Szalon* and the *Művészház*,[88] would both operate in this same neighborhood.

In 1846, with the *Műegylet* under Marastoni's selection jury, the exhibition devoted the entirety of room number 4 to Hungarian artists, defined again as those either working in Hungary, or having been born there. The show failed to please the critics, though, as once again the raffle betrayed the public's real preferences and all 21 of the works distributed were of foreign origin.[89] The first major sensation to arise

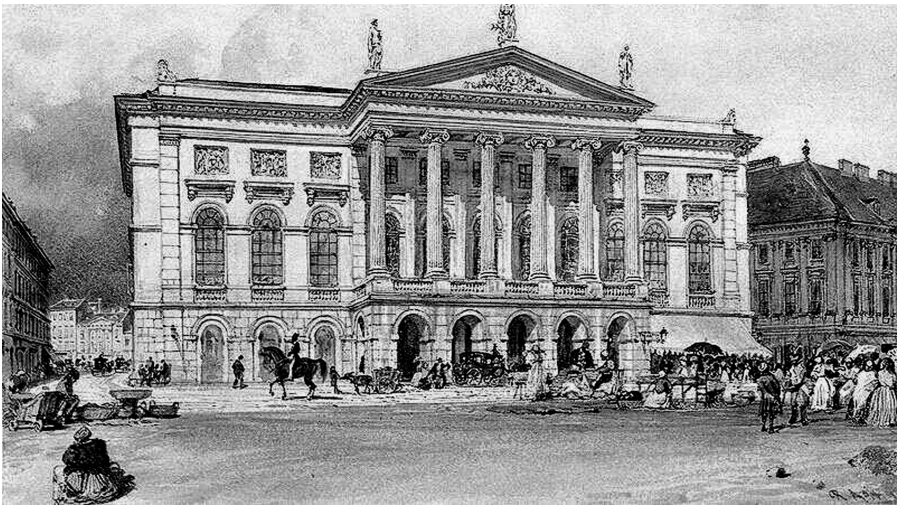


Fig. 1.7. Rudolf von Alt, *Pest Redoute*, c. 1840. The old *Redoute* [*régi Vigadó*], where the first *Műegylet* exhibition was held in 1840 and subsequently until 1847. Source: *Budapesti Történeti Múzeum-Kiscelli Múzeum*.

out of the newly evolved Pest art world would be a product of Marastoni's schooling, twenty-year-old Mihály Zichy, who was by then successfully making a name for himself in Vienna. The Hungarian public was, however, deeply disappointed when his one entry for the 1847 show, *The Light Drink*, was deemed inadequately Hungarian in theme. The criticism may have exhausted Zichy's patience with his countrymen, as his own temperament and outlook was decidedly universal and cosmopolitan, and he possessed a lifelong suspicion of patriotic and jingoistic themes. Only a few months after the 1847 show, news reached the city that Zichy's Austrian

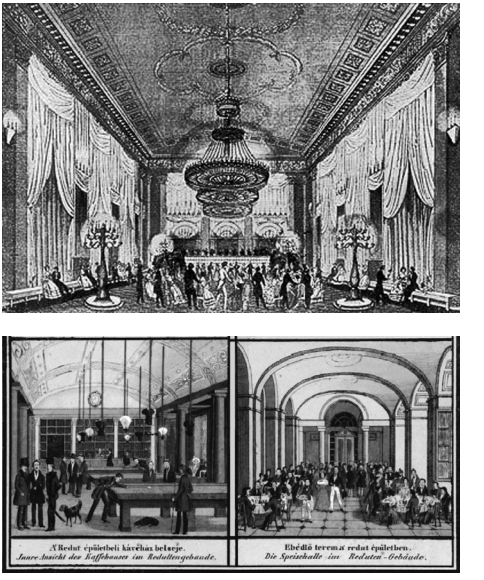


Fig. 1.8. Interiors of the old *Redoute* [*régi Vigadó*], where the first *Műegylet* exhibition was held in 1840 and subsequently until 1847. Source: *Budapesti Történeti Múzeum-Kiscelli Múzeum*

teacher, Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller (1793–1865), had found him a position instructing the Czar's daughters in drawing in Petersburg. He would largely make Russia his home for the remainder of his career.[90] This pattern of success in exile, already pioneered by Markó, would become the recurrent theme for many of the leading talents of the next generation, among them for example, Zichy's greatest rival among expatriate Hungarians, Mihály Munkácsy (1844–1900). The upheaval of the revolution of 1848 forced the *Műegylet* into inactivity and the next exhibition would not be held until 1851. Soma Orlai Petrich's (1822–1880) *Discovery of Lajos II's Corpse* became a landmark in the development of Hungarian historical painting, both with regard to its theatrical staging and its veiled anti-Habsburg sentiment. Mór Than (1828–99) would continue this tradition with paintings of Hungarian medieval greatness in the 1850s (*Lajos the Great Entering Naples*, *King Matthias in Vienna*); followed in the 1860s by Bertalan Székely (1835–1910) (*The Discovery of Lajos II's Body after the Battle of Mohács*) and Viktor Madarász (1831–1917) (*The Wake of László Hunyadi*). It is important to keep in mind that despite the strong Hungarian sentiments exhibited, these paintings were all produced abroad. Than worked in Vienna, Székely in Munich, and Madarász sent his canvas all the way from Paris.

On the other hand, Hungarian themed work was being produced within Hungary, but often by non-Hungarian painters. H. F. Gvon Rustige's (1810–1900) *Fleeing from Wolves in Hungary* and Eugen Krüger's (1832–76) *Morning on the Hungarian Puszta* characterized a trend in which foreign painters travelled to Hungary in order to paint its characteristic national features. No one more epitomized this tendency than the Austrian August von Pettenkopfen (1822–89). As a committed republican, he was deeply sympathetic to the Hungarian cause in 1848, and in fact produced what are still considered two of the most iconic images of the revolution, the heroic *Honvéd Storming Buda Castle* and the tragic *Burial of the Fallen.*[91] The latter, showing an Imperial soldier dragging away the corpse of a fallen *Honvéd*, clearly articulated the sadness experienced by the painter as Austrian and Hungarian needlessly slaughtered each other when both, in fact, shared the common goal of liberty and democracy. Pettenkopfen began the habit of painting that most Hungarian of themes, the Great Plain or *Puszta,* when he travelled as a military officer to the agrarian town of Szolnok in 1851. He would invite other Austrians, notably Tina

Blau and Carl Müller, to join him, and their group returned there every summer for the next three decades, founding the first (Austrian) generation of the Szolnok School of painting and also launching one of the strands of what eventually became known as the Austrian version of Impressionism, *Stimmungsimpressionismus*. Yet, despite his profound legacy to Hungarian art, Pettenkopfen would never be known to the Hungarians as anything other than an Austrian. In contrast, that other essential immigrant, Marastoni, would be embraced and even legally acknowledged as a Hungarian. The key differential lay in Marastoni's embracing Pest as his core market, while Pettenkopfen retained Vienna as the market he most identified with. No two examples better illustrate the spurious distinctions of ethnic identity for artists of this period.

In 1859, a group of painters began to meet with the aim of establishing an organization which principally served the interests of Hungarian artists. It eventually emerged as the *Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat* (*OMKT*), and within a few years superseded its older rival. The *Pesti Műegylet*'s reputation as serving primarily as a venue for foreign artists had relentlessly driven it into obscurity, and by 1868 the organization had ceased to exist, merging its assets into the new salon that displaced it.

Chapter 2: The Quick Rise and Sudden Irrelevance of the Salon System

The Struggles of the Hungarian Artist

In the late 1850s, a group of local painters began gathering in the evenings at the apartment on Hal tér (today's Március 15. tér) of Adolf van der Venne (1828–1911), a Vienna-born painter of Dutch ancestry who had made a career for himself painting the Hungarian peasants, gypsies, and bandits of the Great Hungarian Plain.[1] Much like his compatriot Pettenkopfen, he had found Hungary a fertile source of themes for the genre paintings he sold in Vienna, Pest, and other German *Kunstvereine*. As late as 1856, van der Venne was still primarily basing himself in the Imperial capital,[2] but by the later 1850s he had taken up residence in Pest in order to be closer to the landscape he painted. Those who regularly met at Hal tér included Soma Orlay Petrich (1822–80), Lajos Latkóczy (1821–75), Sándor Brodsky (1819–1901), Bálint Kiss (1802–68), Henrik Pecz (1813–60), Ferenc Plachy (1820–61), and Ferenc Ujházy (1827–1921).Their discussions constantly returned to their dissatisfaction with their earnings at the *Pesti Műegylet*.[3] They would often complain that foreign works were selling for two to three times what a Hungarian's painting would sell for. The price for most Hungarian oil paintings ranged from 100–250 forints, but foreign works were offered for 400–1,000 forints.[4] One leader of the disgruntled artists, Ferenc Ujházy, had, for example, submitted six paintings in 1855, which, if sold would have brought in 1,400 Forints. However, he only sold one still-life for 150 forints, and that was bought by the *Műegylet* itself for the raffle.[5] In fact, the monetary value of sales for Hungarian painters had been improving significantly since its negligible beginnings in the 1840s. In the course of the first decade of the *Műegylet's* operation, up until 1854, the income from the sale of paintings was 37,224 forints, but of that amount, only 7,260 forints were realized on sales of Hun-

garian paintings.[6] In the decade from 1853-63, however, sales of Hungarian paintings increased 800% to 57,823 forints.[7] Those impressive sales statistics were of little consolation, though, to the painters gathered in van der Venne's salon. Even as sales had risen, the numbers of artists competing for buyers had risen even faster. From the original handful of Hungarians who sold at the first *Műegylet,* by 1863 there were 62 Hungarian artists who had had sales at the exhibitions. But as a consequence of the increased number of painters, each artist would earn an average of less than 1,000 forints over the entire decade, less than an average of 100 forints/year. At that rate, *Műegylet* sales were incapable of supporting a reasonable living standard for the ever-increasing number of trained artists seeking a career on the Pest market.

The Formation of the *OMKT*

The origin of the *Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat* [National Hungarian Fine Arts Society] (*OMKT*) can be pinpointed to a meeting led by Soma Orlay Petrich and including the same group that normally met at van der Venne's. At a gathering on January 21, 1859, they declared that the life of a contemporary painter was no longer sustainable and that the *Pesti Műegylet* no longer represented national interests. Therefore, they vowed to form a society that would elevate the nation's artistic taste. Within three weeks the movement had been joined by Miklós Barabás, still one of the most respected painters in Hungary and an original figure from the early days of the *Műegylet*. Their ranks were further bolstered by Henrik Pecz and László Dunajszky (1822–1904), and by the time the official request for permission to form the organization was submitted to the *K. u. K. Polizeidirektion* [Imperial and Royal Police], 39 artists had signed the document.[8]

Rules were then drawn up and submitted on May 10 of that year. This initial burst of activity was then stalled for nearly two years by governmental inaction.[9] The administrative barriers only began to clear when, on October 20, 1860, most of the public administration was turned over to local Hungarian control. Within three months the *OMKT* was registered, and its by-laws were accepted by the Pest City Council on February 15, 1861.[10] Organizing work quickly began, and money was collected to rent some rooms at Nagyhíd utca 9 (today's Deák Ferenc utca) to serve as headquarters and eventually exhibition

rooms.[11] In the first year, no exhibitions were held in Pest; instead the group's efforts concentrated on support services for artists: preparations were made to form a pension system which could also provide relief to widows. Their most significant gesture would be the purchase of a statue by Miklós Izsó (1831–75), *The Sad Shepherd*, exhibited at the 1862 *Műegylet*. It was known that the young man was experiencing difficulties while he studied sculpture in Munich, and the Society purchased the work for 50 forints.[12] In his letter thanking the Society for their generosity, he also bemoans the status of a Hungarian sculptor:

> What had, until now, been the fate of the Hungarian sculptor? With holy youthful vehemence and untiring, persevering enthusiasm, alone with one's beloved art, studying towards a beautiful future, working day and night towards that future in the presence of such oppressive conditions, working away the best years of our youth, only to receive as our reward the public's disregard and ourselves remaining unknown...[13]

This small act of mutual support, though, would have long-lasting consequences for the *OMKT,* as this approach to "softening" the market for the benefit of their members would increasingly drive the organization towards the creation of what in economic terms would be called a "labor aristocracy" that would enjoy the guaranteed purchasing power the institution provided, a benefit denied to the remaining membership. Such phenomena frequently occur in industries where trade unions secure a constricted market and then dole out the most lucrative activities to their most privileged members.[14]

The Imperial bureaucracy's hostility dealt the organization a setback once again by cancelling its charter in 1862. Only the personal intervention of Count Gyula Andrássy (1823–90) was able to insure the final promulgation of the *OMKT* on August 7, 1863. The importance of Andrássy's involvement cannot be understated. He had been elected the organization's president in August 1861, after Count Béla Keglevich (1833–96) renounced the position. His stature gave a huge boost to the Society's prestige and set a pattern for a train of elite benefactors from the aristocracy and clergy to follow his example, most notably Prince Pál Antal Esterházy (1786–1866) and Prince-Primate of Hungary, Cardinal János Scitovszky (1785–1866).[15]

The First *OMKT* Exhibitions

Immediately upon receiving full legal recognition, the *OMKT* began preparations for their first exhibition, which would be held at the Nagyhíd utca location. It attracted 2,240 visitors. In comparison, the *Műegylet* usually brought in 7–8,000 viewers.[16] The collection, of course, presented only Hungarian artists, and, maintaining their ethos of mutual support, the *OMKT* embarked with the radical notion that *all* the paintings accepted by the jury *must* be purchased, if not by the public, then by the society to be raffled. This plan already proved untenable even before this first official exhibition. In 1861, the paintings the group was to send to the 1862 London World Exhibition were previewed for one month at the showroom of the Piano dealer János Pachl. Since no private buyers purchased any of the works, they were all bought by the Society and raffled at a considerable loss.[17] Therefore, the *OMKT* cautiously decided to purchase only 54, or approximately 1/3 of the 140 pieces exhibited at this first salon.[18] In addition to choosing the works, the jury was charged with also setting the prices. The records of this first jury's activities attest to the contentious task they had set for themselves. The great fresco master, Károly Lotz (1833–1904) would appeal his *Horse Watering*'s price of 560 forints and have it increased to 650.[19] Mór Than vehemently disagreed with the 900 forint price set for his *Scene from the Tragedy of Man* and protested the insult by personally visiting the jury with other artists at his side and insisted on at least 1,000.[20] The painter Rezső Grimm (1832–85) was so outraged at the suggested 175 forints price for his work that he wrote back: "if the painting isn't worth 200 forints then it is not worth 175 either. I am expecting a further consultation before I decide whether to leave the painting in the exhibition or remove it." A price of 180 forints was eventually settled upon.[21] Painters often found their own estimation of their works' value was quite different from that held by their peers on the jury. Ferenc Klimkovits (1825–90) believed his *Paradise Lost* to have a value of at least 400 forints, but even after appeal, the jury would only price it at 160.[22] A surprisingly large percentage of the records in the surviving card catalogue for the archives of 1863 mostly revolve around disputes about the pricing of artworks. The selection jury had seemingly volunteered to conduct what amounted to horse trading by committee. Furthermore, the forint value of the paintings was not the only point of contention. Sándor [Alexander] Wagner (1838–1919), who held

the prestigious position of professor at the Munich Academy and so one of the few prominent Hungarian painters of international stature, submitted *Izabella Zápolya*. The jury accepted his offered price of 100 Napoleons (a gold coin worth 20 Francs), which they converted to being worth 880 forints. Wagner protested that he wanted 100 Louis d'or (a different gold coin), not Napoleons, which the jury then agreed to be worth 915 forints. Wagner again wrote indignantly that everywhere in Germany a Louis d'or was worth 10.5 forints, and so he should receive 922 forints.[23] The unpleasant lesson in the vagaries of exchange rates was not something the *OMKT* would soon forget. For the next four decades, foreign works would usually be priced in the painter's local currency (this was also often the case for Hungarians based abroad), and in this way they could avoid the hazards of currency exchange. One auspicious outcome of the jury's efforts was the acceptance for purchase at 80 forints of *Soldier Telling a Story* by the young painter, Mihály Munkácsy.[24] The first *OMKT* director, Pál Harsányi, wrote of it: "The adolescent painting by Mihály Munkácsy, *Soldier Telling a Story*, shows much talent and promise in the sharply observant genre work."

Fig. 2.1. Mihály Munkácsy, *Soldier Telling a Story,* 1863. It is the earliest known painting by Munkácsy. Source: Reproduced in Béla Lázár, "A modern művészet kezdetei," *Művészet*, vol. VII, no. 7, 1908, 295.

The acceptance would mark the initial step in the career of the most hallowed Hungarian painter during the *OMKT*'s golden age. His eventual triumphant conquest of the Parisian art market in the 1870s and 80s would serve as a role-model for the hundreds of painters who flooded the profession in the hopes of repeating his success.

Fig. 2.2. The jury for the first *OMKT* exhibit, charged with choosing paintings and setting their prices. Source: Zoltán Pipacs, "Adalékok a Képzőművészeti Társulat történetéhez: Levéltári Szemelvények az 1859–1861. Évekből," *Orsz. M. Képzőművészeti Társulat Évkönyve 1928,* 98.

Prince Pál Antal Esterházy, who had recently been persuaded to join the *OMKT* as their Honorary Chairman, wrote that he was quite pleased with the results of the 1863 exhibition: "At the location of our Salon [*Műcsarnok*], which lasted three months, we exhibited 140 paintings and succeeded in buying 54 of them at a value of 10,000 forints for the Society to raffle. We also had 1,700 visitors to the exhibition, not including members."[25] Significantly, Esterházy refers to no purchases by private collectors but only the raffle. The ideal of the raffle serving as the purchaser of last resort was abandoned, for in reality it was serving as the purchaser of first resort, given the dearth of genuine buyers.

The *OMKT*'s Structure

The development of the *OMKT* must be seen within the wider context of the approaching Compromise of 1867 and the atmosphere within Hungary of dismantling Imperial central control. The struggle to secure recognition of the Society in 1863, in some ways, served as a proxy battle for Andrássy's larger achievements of four years later. The *OMKT* represented an establishing of artistic sovereignty that was comparable to the political one to be established in 1867. In fact, the *Pesti Műegylet* was finally vanquished (with its assets absorbed by the *OMKT*) in the same year as the Compromise was enacted. The differences in the two arts organizations are telling. The *Műegylet* was formed by prominent citizens and one art dealer with the intention to improve the public's appreciation of art and to integrate Pest into the wider circle of the German *Kunstvereine* circuit. The *OMKT,* however, was largely formed by artists to improve their own lot. The names the two institutions chose for themselves say much about their bases of support and intended markets. The *Pesti Műegylet* emphasized its roots in the municipality and, by association, in the cosmopolitanism of the city. It did not emphasize a nationality but served a community of both Hungarians and German-speakers, and it displayed works of a common Central European artistic culture, with its catalogues always printed bilingually (Hungarian and German). The *OMKT,* on the other hand, *doubly* emphasized its nationalness. Most country-wide institutions in Hungary contain either the word national (*országos* or *nemzeti*) or Hungarian (*magyar*). The *OMKT* contains both *országos* and *magyar*.[26] The *OMKT* described its role as an umbrella organization for artists, representing their interests, holding exhibitions and giving out prizes and scholarships, and state and private purchases would be made through the *OMKT,* with the stated wider goal of stimulating Hungarian art production.

The *OMKT's* organizational structure essentially further ensconced the monopolistic form of art market, and one which somewhat resembled a pre-capitalist art commerce model, with certain levels of guaranteed demand to assure artists of a decent standard of living. In addition to the income that might come through sales of works to private collectors, the *OMKT* provided important alternatives to the prevailing anemic levels of art collecting. The Society directed three essential methods of non-market compensation: 1) state purchases, which

could include those from the Royal Court, those from the Hungarian national government, and those for acquisition by the National Museum Picture Gallery (and later Fine Arts Museum); 2) prizes and scholarships which, in addition to giving the artist ready cash, had the benefit of leaving the painter at liberty to sell the painting, which now carried the additional cachet being a prize-winning work; and 3) raffle purchases. As mentioned, the *OMKT* would quickly have to abandon its commitment to purchase *every* work appearing at the salon, but in doing so, the jury in fact set itself up as a guardian of the interests of a privileged elite among Hungarian artists. The organization might be described as a trade union-operated mixed market system, set up with the primary purpose of providing reliable income to its members, but in reality it could only sustain the needs of a privileged labor aristocracy.

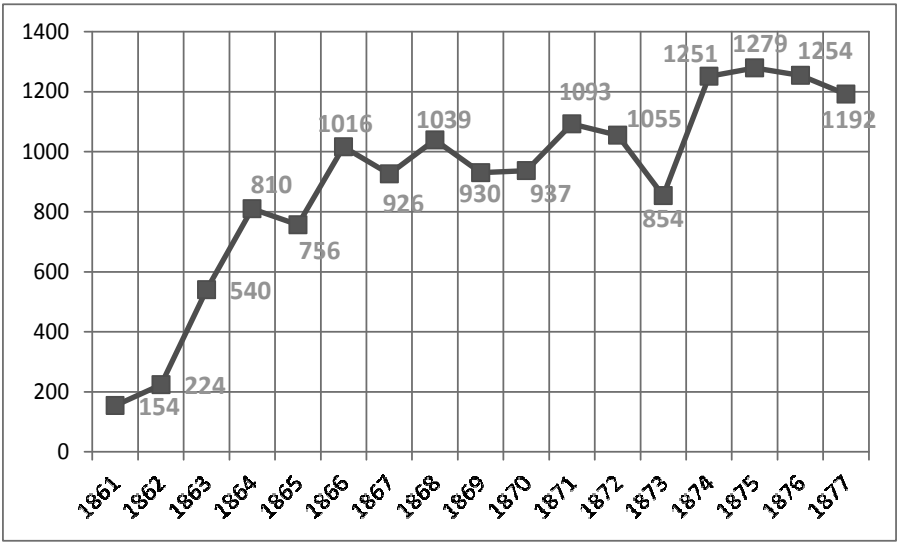
The elevation of Prince Esterházy to the role of honorary chairman proved crucial in initiating a fashion for supporting the contemporary arts among Hungary's social elites. In the first two years (1861–62), Harsányi bemoaned the scarcity of members from the "clerics and the Casino members."[27] The Casino was the most elite gentleman's club in Hungary, and in so saying, the Society's director was regretting that the organization had not been able to recruit more members of the aristocracy and the Catholic clerical hierarchy. Esterházy's association with the *OMKT* began when the Society wrote him a letter complimenting him on his agreement to sell to the Hungarian state his family's world class collection of old master paintings and graphics. The collection's paintings would eventually be sold for 1.1 million forints, though foreign art dealers were offering over 2 million for the works.[28] Those paintings would ultimately form the core of today's Fine Arts Museum and included works by Raphael, Franz Hals, Anthony van Dyck, Murillo, and Lucas Cranach the Elder. While Esterházy was disposing of his old masters, he was also turning his attention toward contemporary art and enthusiastically embraced an offer to serve as the *OMKT*'s first honorary chairman (*védnök*). He served in that position for only two years before his death in 1865 but did live to see his former collection exhibited in a special hall at the Academy of Sciences. His example of supporting living artists through his role as honorary chairman inspired other members of the elite to come to the aid of the organization. Among the most important was Prince-Primate of Hungary Cardinal Scitovszky, who agreed in 1863 to provide the *OMKT* with

an urgently needed donation of 500 forints. Soon after Esterházy's appointment and Scitovszky's financial support, the Society garnered 44 members from the aristocracy and high clergy, and by 1866 the number would rise to 82 nobles as well as many notable clerics.[29] Whereas the *Pesti Műegylet* had primarily been promoted by the Pest German/Hungarian bourgeoisie, the *OMKT* took much more of its sponsorship from an increasingly patriotic aristocracy.

As membership numbers rose, the *OMKT* established distinctions corresponding to members' contribution levels: Patrons, Founding Members, and Members. It should be noted that the lion's share of the budget came from the first category, which included, among others, the emperor and empress, the Belgian queen, Prince Rudolf, the First Hungarian Insurance Company, the National Casino, and the Austro-Hungarian Bank. Among the non-artist members, lawyers represent the largest body by occupation, followed by merchants, higher-ranking state officials, landowners, doctors, and mid-level state bureaucrats.[30] More than three quarters of the membership held residence in Budapest, most commonly in Terézváros, Lipótváros, and the inner city (today's V and VI districts). In order to achieve its stated claim of representing the entire country, however, in 1869 the *OMKT* made a push towards bringing in provincial municipalities as well as members. Among those cities that joined the Society were Óbuda, Pécs, Sopron, Kassa [Košice], Cegléd, and Újvidék [Novi Sad].[31] Overall membership rose very quickly in the early years, especially around the time of the first exhibition in 1863. In 1862, there were 224 members (*tag* in Hungarian), climbing to 540 by 1863, and to 810 in 1864. Membership only dropped precipitously in 1873 (down 201 to 854), the year of the Vienna *Börsenkrach* [stock market crash], but it recovered in 1874 and went up to 1,251.

The *OMKT* quickly forged close links to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and in 1865, just as the magnificent Esterházy collection was going on display, the academy also rented five rooms to the Society for their salon that year. This location was an immediate step up from the Nagyhíd address, and it offered excellent synergies with Esterházy's old masters on view in the same building. The Academy would serve as the *OMKT* exhibition hall until 1877 when the first *Műcsarnok* (Art Hall) was finished.

Almost immediately upon its inception, the Society was called upon to perform the duties of serving as the representative of Hungarian



Tab. 2.1. Membership in the *OMKT,* 1861–77. Source: Zoltán Pipacs, "Emlékek a társulatunk multjából (1862–77)," *Orsz. M. Képzőművészeti Társulat Évkönyve 1929,* 125.

artists. The earliest instance was in 1865, when they intervened in a dispute between Mór Than and the new *Vigadó* (Redoute), where he was to produce a fresco, *The Feast of Attila*.[32] In 1866, the Hungarian parliament declared the *OMKT* to be the legally designated competent body for elevating the artistic edification of the country, and to that end it was to establish a drawing school (Marastoni's had closed by then), provide scholarships, and direct the support for the arts coming from the state budget.[33] These were roles the *Pesti Műegylet* had never performed, and indeed, it had never aspired to address such issues. In 1867 the *OMKT* held the state postage-stamp competition, in 1871 the competition for the Margit Bridge, and in 1874 exhibited the competing plans for the State Opera House. Beginning in 1868, the Society received a 4,000-forint annual state grant to publish its bulletin, *Műcsarnok*, which reigned as essentially the sole art journal for the country until 1902 when it evolved into *Művészet*, an independent publication. [34]

Despite its original emphasis on Hungarian artists, upon the demise of the *Pesti Műegylet* the *OMKT* inherited that organization's international contacts and abandoned its initial localist rhetoric and agreed

to show foreign works. The *OMKT*'s General Assembly, however, voted that although foreign works could be shown, only Hungarian works could be *sold*.[35] That proscription would also quickly succumb to market realities, and by 1871, the Society had exchanged works for exhibition with Venice, Trieste, Styria, Baden, Hannover, Nassau, Danzig, Würzburg, Upper Austria, Prussia, Riga, and Helsinki. Furthermore, another vital role that the *OMKT* had to shoulder was the selecting and organizing of Hungary's participants in World Exhibitions. In its early years that included London in 1862 and 1870, Paris in 1867, and Vienna in 1873.[36] In fact, it continued to monopolize this task until the 1900 Paris exhibition, when that role would have to be shared with representatives of the *Nemzeti Szalon*.[37]

Fig. 2.6. A contemporary caricature mocking the *OMKT*'s efforts to draw the public's interest to the grand opening of the first Műcsarnok in 1877. The exhibition was free of charge, and beer and music were used as additional incentives. Source: Zoltán Pipacs, "Emlékek a társulatunk multjából (1862–1877)," *Orsz. M. Képzőművészeti Társulat Évkönyve 1929,* 131.

Among the many advantages that the *OMKT* enjoyed was a purpose-built salon facility, something the *Műegylet* never achieved. This

asset vastly improved the Society's balance sheet, since exhibition space rental had always been (and would always be) by far the largest overhead expense. The initial grant for that purpose was made by King and Emperor Franz Josef (1830–1916), in the amount of 30,000 forints. His interest in promoting Hungarian art was initiated by Esterházy, and the donation was made as a goodwill gesture soon after his coronation as Hungarian King. In 1868, the *OMKT* requested the location of the former City Theater from the Pest city council, but the grant was not provided until 1872. Similar to the arrangement provided for the Vienna *Künstlerhaus*, the Society was given an 800 *négyszögöl*-sized lot (approximately 0.28 hectares) free of charge on the new Parisian-style Sugár út (Radial Avenue, today's Andrássy út).[38] In 1875, a charity salon was held, with all of the proceeds going towards the building of the exhibition hall, and the royal family and the elite donated 10,000 forints as seed capital, which grew to 114,000 forints within two years.

Fig. 2.4. The first [Old] *Műcsarnok*. The words *Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat* can be clearly read across the architrave. It is the only place that the *OMKT*'s name appears anywhere in public today. Source: Károly Divald photograph, 1883. *Budapesti Történeti Múzeum-Kiscelli Múzeum*.

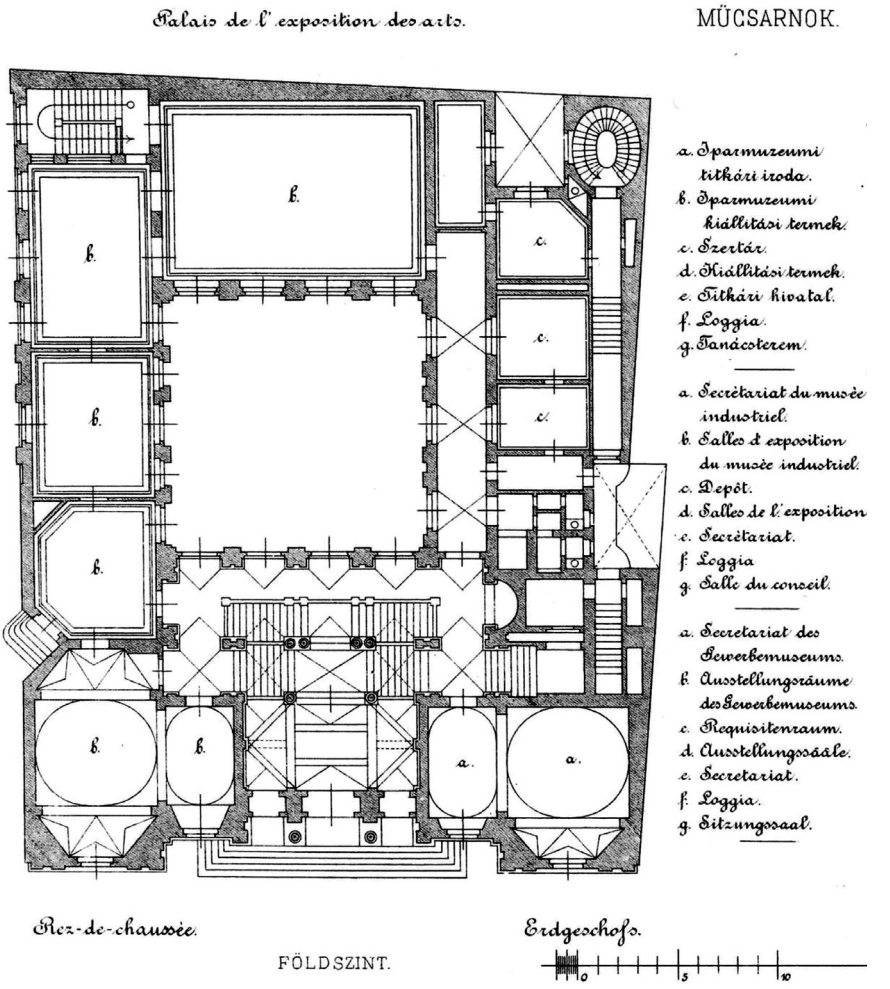


Fig. 2.5. The floor plan for the first [Old] *Műcsarnok*. Source: *Budapesti Történeti Múzeum-Kiscelli Múzeum*.

In fact, only part of the lot was designated for the salon, a second section was set aside for the Budapest Drafting School (*Mintarajziskola*), the future Academy of Fine Art. Forty-five plans were submitted and Adolf Lang's (1848–1913) winning design was built between 1875 and 1877.[39] The hall provided vastly more space than had been available at the Academy of Sciences. Whereas in 1875, 115 works were shown, and 117 in 1876, the new *Műcsarnok* allowed three times that many to be exhibited, with 317 artworks appearing in the 1877 show that inaugurated

Fig. 2.6. [Above]: The sky-lit Great Hall of the first [Old] *Műcsarnok*. Source: Drawing by Tivadar Dörre. *Budapesti Történeti Múzeum-Kiscelli Múzeum*. Fig. 2.7. [Below]: The loggia of the first [Old] *Műcsarnok*. Source: Photograph by Hermann Rückwardt. *Budapesti Történeti Múzeum-Kiscelli Múzeum*.

the building.[40] Paintings and sculpture were displayed in 5 halls (*terem*), 8 rooms (*cabinet*), 2 main hallways, a hall devoted to applied arts drawings, and a main grand hall with skylights. Almost immediately, however, artists began bemoaning the poor light in the building. Mór Than (1828–99) complained that the lighting in the Great Hall and the rooms was not adequate in his opinion, and he urged the various committees of the *OMKT* to do something to amend the problem.[41] The situation, however, would only be remedied in 1896, with the construction of the new *Műcsarnok* at Heroes' Square as part of the massive construction projects for the Millennium Exposition of 1896. The building at Andrássy út 63, still today called the old *Műcsarnok*, would eventually be merged into the Fine Arts University, with the city's puppet theater operating in its basement.[42] Its architrave reads: *Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat*, and, with this exception, the organization's name has otherwise disappeared almost completely from public view.

Fig. 2.8. The leading artists of the *OMKT* represented as the Olympus of Hungarian art. Source: Zoltán Pipacs, "Emlékek a társulatunk multjából (1862–1877)," *Orsz. M. Képzőművészeti Társulat Évkönyve 1929,* 131.

The term *Műcsarnok* initially held a quite specific meaning, referring to the event of showing artworks as a salon, and the exhibitions that were held within the Academy of Sciences were still referred to as the *OMKT's Műcsarnok*.[43] By the turn of the century, the term *Műcsarnok* had largely become synonymous with the *OMKT* itself, but with the construction of the purpose-built building for the *Műcsarnok*, the term also increasingly came to be identified with that specific edifice. When the *OMKT* ceased to exist in the post-war period, the physical building of the *Műcsarnok* at Heroes' Square came to occupy sole usage of the term, and the facility continues to serve as the leading venue for contemporary art exhibitions in Hungary, though it does not hold anything as hegemonic and authoritative as the salons of the *OMKT*.[44]

The other surviving meaning of the term *Műcsarnok* has had far longer and deeper repercussions for the *OMKT's* legacy. It evolved in Hungarian art historiography to become the antonym of Modernism, and thereby the kiss of death on the current art market. The Society came of age in the 1860s and 70s during the golden age of historical painting as it was taught at the Munich Academy.[45] By the 1880s and 90s, historical painting was increasingly replaced by an unsettling realism of rural genre scenes. By the time of the great public works commissions surrounding the Millennium Celebrations of 1896, the *OMKT's* technical committee (*szakbizottság*) was appointed by the annual general assembly and was largely composed of artists who had been trained in the culture of Munich Academism and defended that trend on behalf of the institution. Gyula Benczúr (1844–1920), more than any other painter, embodied this tendency,[46] and as he also dominated the juries of the late nineteenth century he made himself a lightning rod for all the opposition to the increasingly unpopular jury.[47] Generally the same 10–15 artists sat on all the committees dispensing scholarships and awards and choosing the entries for the exhibitions. They were never actually unseated so much as they would simply die off. By the time the hegemony of Benczúr's clique was broken in 1907, the revolution was staged not by the Modernists but by the offspring of the *Nemzeti Szalon*, László Kézdi-Kovács (1864–1942), who led a solid voting block of mediocre landscapists and genre painters who had largely acquired control of both the major salons at the time.

The *OMKT* Catalogues

The *OMKT* began printing catalogues to their exhibitions only in the 1870s.[48] The first ones only inventoried a much smaller space at the Academy of Sciences and were just a few pages in length. One distinction between these catalogues and those of the *Pesti Műegylet*, though, was immediately apparent: whereas the *Műegylet*'s were scrupulously bilingual, with every word in Hungarian and German, the *OMKT*'s were strictly in Hungarian, with even the painter's given names translated into Hungarian. The great Austrian historical painter Hans Mackart (1840–84) appears as Mackart János, for example, when his *Gifts of the Sea and Land* cycle appeared at the June 1878 exhibition.[49] By the time exhibitions were being held in the new *Műcsarnok* on Heroes' Square in 1896, the catalogue had evolved from a handful of bound pages into a significant publication. The opening page offered a fold-out map of the *Műcsarnok*, with each hall numbered so visitors could easily coordinate paintings with their location, and a recommended route was even suggested. The facing page provided a few brief lines of introduction followed by the rules for making purchases and other business issues. A listing of all previous prize winners to date always followed and then a list of that year's executive committee members, with usually

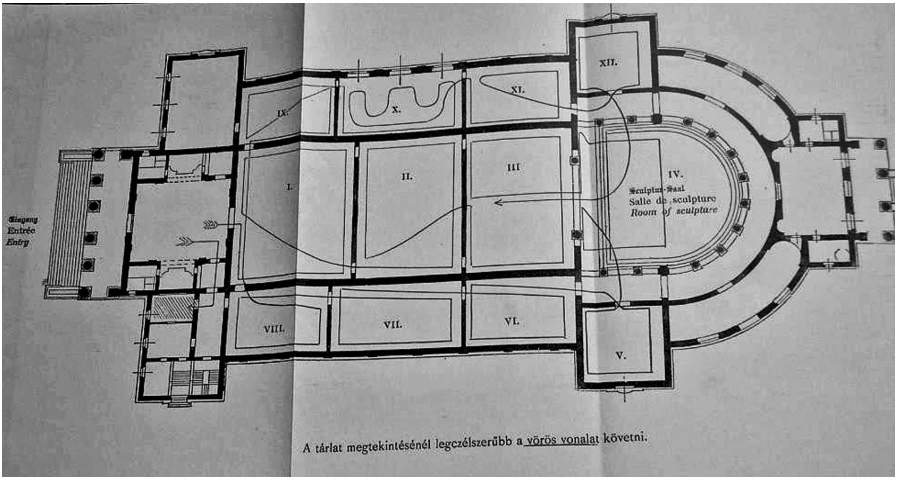
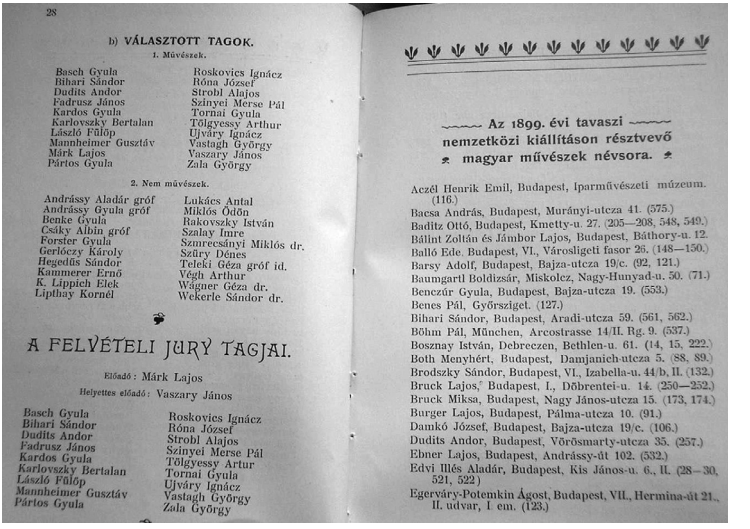


Fig. 2.9. The floor plan of the Second *Műcsarnok* at Hősök tere. Source: Fold-out map from *Tárgymutató Az Orsz. Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1898 évi Tavaszi Nemzetközi Kiállítására* [Catalogue to the OMKT 1898 Spring International Exhibition].



28

b) VÁLASZTOTT TAGOK.

1. Művészek.

Basch Gyula
Bihari Sándor
Dudits Andor
Fadrusz János
Kardos Gyula
Karlovszky Bertalan
László Fülöp
Mannheimer Gusztáv
Márk Lajos
Pártos Gyula
Roskovics Ignácz
Róna József
Strobl Alajos
Szinyei Merse Pál
Tornai Gyula
Tölgyessy Arthur
Ujváry Ignácz
Vastagh György
Vaszary János
Zala György

2. Nem művészek.

Andrássy Aladár gróf
Andrássy Gyula gróf
Benke Gyula
Csáky Albin gróf
Forster Gyula
Gerlóczy Károly
Hegedűs Sándor
Kummerer Ernő
K. Lippich Elek
Lipthay Kornél
Lukács Antal
Miklós Ödön
Rakovszky István
Szalay Imre
Szmrecsányi Miklós dr.
Szűry Dénes
Teleki Géza gróf id.
Végh Arthur
Wágner Géza dr.
Wekerle Sándor dr.

A FELVÉTELI JURY TAGJAI.

Előadó: Márk Lajos

Helyettes előadó: Vaszary János

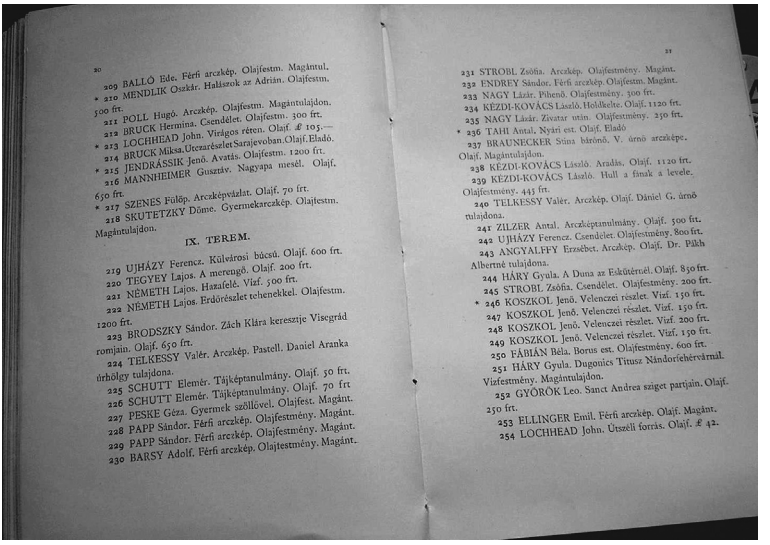
Basch Gyula
Bihari Sándor
Dudits Andor
Fadrusz János
Kardos Gyula
Karlovszky Bertalan
László Fülöp
Mannheimer Gusztáv
Pártos Gyula
Roskovics Ignácz
Róna József
Strobl Alajos
Szinyei Merse Pál
Tölgyessy Artur
Tornai Gyula
Ujváry Ignácz
Vastagh György
Zala György

Az 1899. évi tavaszi nemzetközi kiállításon résztvevő magyar művészek névsora.

Aczél Henrik Emil, Budapest, Iparművészeti múzeum. (116.)
Bacsa András, Budapest, Murányi-utcza 41. (575.)
Baditz Ottó, Budapest, Kmetty-u. 27. (205—208, 548, 549.)
Bálint Zoltán és Jámbor Lajos, Budapest, Báthory-u. 12.
Balló Ede, Budapest, VI., Városligeti fasor 26. (148—150.)
Barsy Adolf, Budapest, Bajza-utcza 19/c. (92, 121.)
Baumgartl Boldizsár, Miskolcz, Nagy-Hunyad-u. 50. (71.)
Benczúr Gyula, Budapest, Bajza-utcza 19. (553.)
Benes Pál, Győrsziget. (127.)
Bihari Sándor, Budapest, Aradi-utcza 59. (561, 562.)
Böhm Pál, München, Arcostrasse 14/II. Rg. 9. (537.)
Bosznay István, Debreczen, Bethlen-u. 61. (14, 15, 222.)
Both Menyhért, Budapest, Damjanich-utcza 5. (88, 89.)
Brodszky Sándor, Budapest, VI., Izabella-u. 44/b, II. (132.)
Bruck Lajos, Budapest, I., Döbrentei-u. 14. (250—252.)
Bruck Miksa, Budapest, Nagy János-utcza 15. (173, 174.)
Burger Lajos, Budapest, Pálma-utcza 10. (91.)
Damkó József, Budapest, Bajza-utcza 19/c. (106.)
Dudits Andor, Budapest, Vörösmarty-utcza 33. (257.)
Ebner Lajos, Budapest, Andrássy-út 102. (532.)
Edvi Illés Aladár, Budapest, Kis János-u. 6., II. (28—30, 521, 522.)
Egerváry-Potemkin Ágost, Budapest, VII., Hermina-út 21., II. udvar, I. em. (123.)

Fig. 2.10. The listing of the elected executive committee members and the jury on the left hand page. The right lists the participating artists, their residence, and the lot number of their work. Source: *Tárgymutató az Orsz. Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1899 évi Tavaszi Nemzetközi Kiállítására* [Catalogue, 1899].

40 permanent members and 20 members elected from among artists, and 20 elected non-artists. Below that would appear the names of that year's jury members (18 regular members, a chairman, and a vice-chairman).[50] Next came a directory of all artists taking part in the exhibition with their city of residence, which also served as an index to their work in the catalogue. Foreign artists followed in a separate list. The bulk of the publication then presented the comprehensive inventory of the exhibited pieces with lot numbers, including the artists name, the title, the material, and the price. As mentioned earlier, artworks from foreign artists (and some Hungarian's living abroad) were priced in the artist's local currency. If a painting was already in a private collection but the artist chose to submit it in the hopes of gaining a prize or prestige, that would be noted, often with the collector's name. Most of the artworks were for sale but did not always list a price. The primary reason for such a strategy was most likely modesty, though the embarrassment could stem from either too high or too low an asking price. Even though the new unified Austro-Hungarian currency, the korona, was introduced in 1892, the *OMKT* resisted using it in their catalogues



20

209 BALLÓ Ede. Férfi arczkép. Olajfestm. Magántul.
* 210 MENDLIK Oszkár. Halászok az Adrián. Olajfestm. 500 frt.
211 POLL Hugó. Arczkép. Olajfestm. Magántulajdon.
212 BRUCK Hermina. Csendélet. Olajfestm. 300 frt.
* 213 LOCHHEAD John. Virágos réten. Olaj. £ 105.—
214 BRUCK Miksa. Utczarészlet Sarajevoban. Olajf. Eladó.
* 215 JENDRÁSSIK Jenő. Avatás. Olajfestm. 1200 frt.
216 MANNHEIMER Gusztáv. Nagyapa mesél. Olajf. 650 frt.
* 217 SZENES Fülöp. Arczképvázlat. Olajf. 70 frt.
218 SKUTETZKY Dóme. Gyermekarczkép. Olajfestm. Magántulajdon.

IX. TEREM.

219 UJHÁZY Ferencz. Külvárosi bucsú. Olajf. 600 frt.
220 TEGYEY Lajos. A merengő. Olajf. 200 frt.
221 NÉMETH Lajos. Házafelé. Vízf. 500 frt.
222 NÉMETH Lajos. Erdőrészlet tehenekkel. Olajfestm. 1200 frt.
223 BRODSZKY Sándor. Zách Klára keresztje Visegrád romjain. Olajf. 650 frt.
224 TELKESSY Valér. Arczkép. Pastell. Daniel Aranka úrhölgy tulajdona.
225 SCHUTT Elemér. Tájképtanulmány. Olajf. 50 frt.
226 SCHUTT Elemér. Tájképtanulmány. Olajf. 70 frt
227 PESKE Géza. Gyermek szőllővel. Olajfest. Magánt.
228 PAPP Sándor. Férfi arczkép. Olajfestmény. Magánt.
229 PAPP Sándor. Férfi arczkép. Olajfestmény. Magánt.
230 BARSY Adolf. Férfi arczkép. Olajfestmény. Magánt.

21

231 STROBL Zsófia. Arczkép. Olajfestmény. Magánt.
232 ENDREY Sándor. Férfi arczkép. Olajfestm. Magánt.
233 NAGY Lázár. Pihenő. Olajfestmény. 500 frt.
234 KEZDI-KOVÁCS László. Holdkelte. Olajf. 1120 frt.
235 NAGY Lázár. Zivatar után. Olajfestmény. 250 frt.
* 236 TAHI Antal. Nyári est. Olajf. Eladó
237 BRAUNECKER Stina bárónő. V. úrnő arczképe. Olajf. Magántulajdon.
238 KEZDI-KOVÁCS László. Aradás. Olajf. 1120 frt.
239 KEZDI-KOVÁCS László. Hull a finak a levele. Olajfestmény. 445 frt.
240 TELKESSY Valér. Arczkép. Olajf. Dániel G. úrnő tulajdona.
241 ZILZER Antal. Arczképtanulmány. Olajf. 500 frt.
242 UJHÁZY Ferencz. Csendélet. Olajfestmény. 800 frt.
243 ANGYALFFY Erzsébet. Arczkép. Olajf. Dr. Pilch Albertné tulajdona.
244 HÁRY Gyula. A Duna az Eskütérnél. Olajf. 850 frt.
245 STROBL Zsófia. Csendélet. Olajfestmény. 200 frt.
* 246 KOSZKOL Jenő. Velenczei részlet. Vízf. 150 frt.
247 KOSZKOL Jenő. Velenczei részlet. Vízf. 150 frt.
248 KOSZKOL Jenő. Velenczei részlet. Vízf. 200 frt.
249 KOSZKOL Jenő. Velenczei részlet. Vízf. 150 frt.
250 FÁBIÁN Béla. Borus est. Olajfestmény. 600 frt.
251 HÁRY Gyula. Dugonics Titusz Nándorfehérvárnál. Vízfestmény. Magántulajdon.
252 GYÖRÖK Leo. Sanct Andrea sziget partjain. Olajf. 250 frt.
253 ELLINGER Emil. Férfi arczkép. Olajf. Magánt.
254 LOCHHEAD John. Utszéli forrás. Olajf. £ 42.

Fig. 2.11. A typical page of the catalogue's inventory showing lot number, painter, title, material, and (sometimes) price. If no price was listed, then *Magánt*. [private owner] (i.e., not for sale) or *Eladó* [for sale] (but price must be inquired) were the two forms of designation. Note that for Hungarian painters, prices still appear in forints, even though the korona had been introduced six years earlier. Foreign painters' prices appear in their own currency. Source: *Tárgymutató az Orsz. Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1898* évi *Tavaszi Nemzetközi Kiállítására* [Catalogue to the *OMKT* 1898 Spring International Exhibition].

even in the Winter 1900–01 Exhibition and continued to adhere to using the forint for local artists.[51] The issue of making the change became moot in 1902, for the 1902–03 Winter catalogue contained no prices whatsoever, only notations of "for sale" or "private collection." From that point on, no *OMKT* catalogues contain any prices during the period under consideration (until 1914). While other arts institutions occasionally might not print a selling price, the practice occurred rarely outside the *OMKT*. The decision reflects a gesture towards egalitarianism, so that the audience would not be pre-disposed automatically towards the higher-priced works. For the 1885 Spring International Catalogue, 89 high-quality full-page reproductions appeared, and from that point on, the main Spring and Winter exhibitions always featured at least 30 reproductions. Until the *Nemzeti Szalon*'s 1901 Internation-

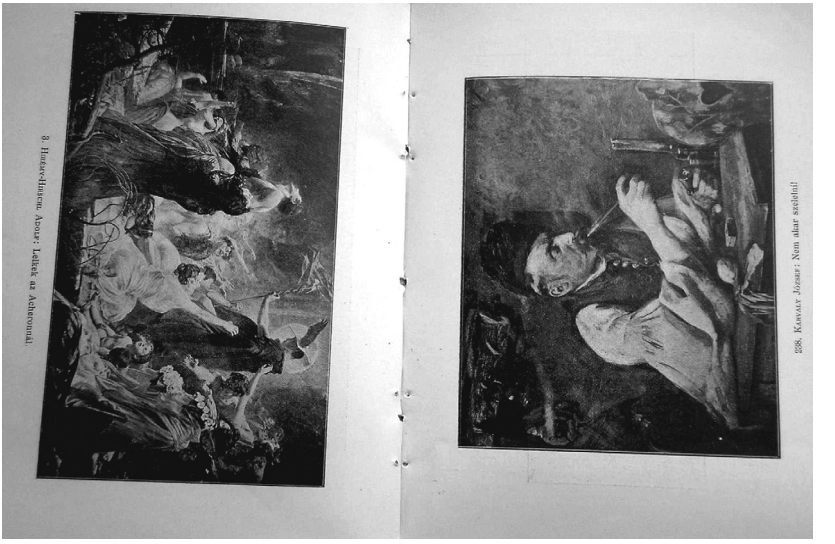
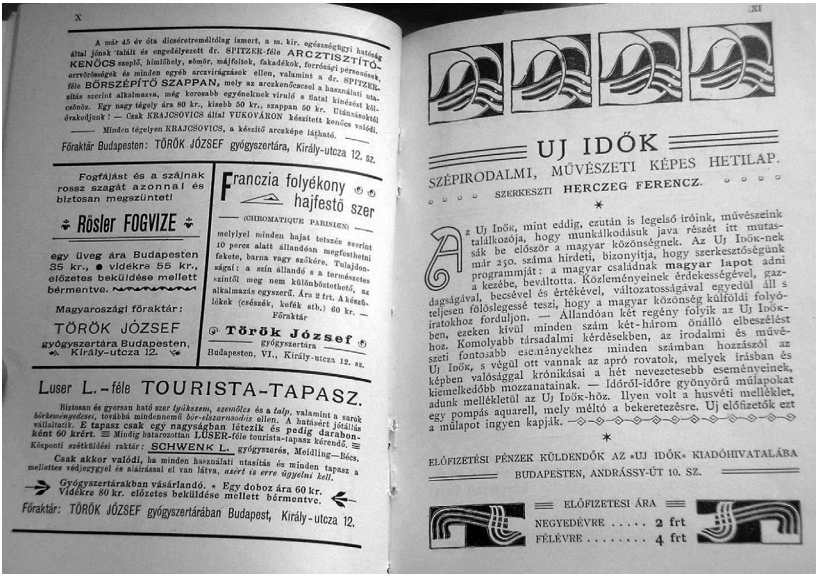


Fig. 2.12. Black and white reproductions highlighted the stars of the exhibition, with the important foreign works disproportionately honored. The work on the left by Adolf Hirémy-Hirschl (1860–1933), *Souls at Acheron*, had already won a gold medal at the *Vienna Künstlerhaus* in 1898. Though Hirémy-Hirschl had worked almost exclusively outside Hungary (in Vienna and then Rome), he identified with his Hungarian origins in Transylvania. Source: *Tárgymutató az Orsz. Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1899* évi *Tavaszi Nemzetközi Kiállítására* [Catalogue, 1899].

al Catalogue, no other institution had ever provided any images. As of the Winter 1898–99 salon, the back of the catalogue started to contain 6–12 pages of advertising. This revenue stream helped to cover the costs of catalogue publishing and represented one more in a host of advantages that the *OMKT* would enjoy over any of its potential rivals. In general, no other exhibition society could compete with the *OMKT* as to the level professionalism radiating from their catalogues. In most cases, other venues simply contented themselves to list the displayed artworks, and no other publication conveyed the air of authority that came from the *OMKT*'s enumeration of prizes, committee members, etc., as well as the status-conferring reproductions.



X

A már 45 év óta diccséretreméltólag ismert, a m. kir. egészségügyi hatóság által jónak talált és engedélyezett dr. SPITZER-féle ARCTISZTÍTÓ-KENŐCS szepfi, bimlőhely, sömör, májfoltok, fakadékok, forróság pirosságok, orrtörésegek és minden egyéb arcvirágzások ellen, valamint a dr. SPITZER-féle BÖRSZÉPÍTŐ SZAPPAN, mely az arcszépítésnek a használati utasítás szerint alkalmasva, még korosabb egyéneknek virulé s fiatal kindzsét adhatja csöndes. Egy nagy tégely ára 80 kr., kisebb 50 kr., szappan 50 kr. Utánzásoktól óvakodjunk! — Csak KRAJCSOVICS által VUKOVÁRON készített kenőcs valódi.

Minden tégelyen KRAJCSOVICS, a készítő arcképe látható.

Főraktár Budapesten: TÖRÖK JÓZSEF gyógyszertára, Király-utcza 12. sz.

Fogfájást és a szájnak rossz szagát azonnal és biztosan megszünteti

Rösler FOGVIZE

egy üveg ára Budapesten 35 kr., ● vidékre 55 kr., előzetes beküldése mellett bérmentve.

Magyarországi főraktár:

TÖRÖK JÓZSEF

gyógyszertára Budapesten, Király-utcza 12.

Franczia folyékony hajfestő szer

(CHROMATIQUE PARISIEN)

melylyel minden hajat tetszés szerint 10 perczs alatt állandóan megfestethetni fekete, barna vagy szőkére. Tulajdonsága: a szín állandó s a természetes színétől meg nem különböztethető, az alkalmazás egyszerű. Ára 2 frt. A készítékek (czésznek, kefék stb.) 60 kr. — Főraktár

Török József

gyógyszertára

Budapesten, VI., Király-utcza 12. sz.

Luser L.-féle TOURISTA-TAPASZ.

Biztosan és gyorsan ható szer tyúkszem, szemölcs és a talp, valamint a sarok bőrkeményedése, továbbá mindennemű bőr-elszarusodás ellen. A hatásáért jótállás vállaltatik. E tapasz csak egy nagyságban létezik és pedig darabonként 60 krért. Mindig hatásosan LUSER-féle tourista-tapasz kérendő.

Központi szétküldési raktár: SCHWENK L., gyógyszerész, Meidling—Bécs.

Csak akkor valódi, ha minden használati utasítás és minden tapasz a mellettes védjegyvel és aláírással el van látva, azért is erre ügyelni kell.

Gyógyszertárakban vásárlandó. * Egy doboz ára 60 kr. Vidékre 80 kr. előzetes beküldése mellett bérmentve.

Főraktár: TÖRÖK JÓZSEF gyógyszertárában Budapest, Király-utcza 12.

XI

UJ IDŐK

SZÉPIRODALMI, MŰVÉSZETI KÉPES HETILAP.

SZERKESZTI HERCZEG FERENCZ.

*

Az Uj Idők, mint eddig, ezután is legelső íróink, művészeink találkozója, hogy munkálkodásuk java részét itt mutassák be először a magyar közönségnek. Az Uj Idők-nek már 250. száma hirdeti, bizonyítja, hogy szerkesztőségünk programmját: a magyar családnak magyar lapot adni a kezébe, beváltotta. Közleményeinek érdekességével, gazdagságával, becsével és értékével, változatosságával egyedül áll s teljesen fölöslegessé teszi, hogy a magyar közönség külföldi folyóiratokhoz forduljon. — Állandóan két regény folyik az Uj Idők-ben, ezeken kívül minden szám két-három önálló elbeszélést hoz. Komolyabb társadalmi kérdésekben, az irodalmi és művészeti fontosabb eseményekhez minden számban hozzászól az Uj Idők, s végül ott vannak az apró rovatok, melyek írásban és képben valósággal krónikásai a hét nevezetesebb eseményeinek, kiemelkedőbb mozzanatainak. — Időről-időre gyönyörű műlapokat adunk mellékletül az Uj Idők-höz. Ilyen volt a húsvéti melléklet, egy pompás aquarell, mely méltó a bekeretezésre. Uj előfizetők ezt a műlapot ingyen kapják.

*

ELŐFIZETÉSI PÉNZEK KÜLDENDŐK AZ »UJ IDŐK« KIADÓHIVATALÁBA BUDAPESTEN, ANDRÁSSY-ÚT 10. SZ.

ELŐFIZETESI ÁRA

NEGYEDÉVRE ..... 2 frt

FÉLÉVRE ..... 4 frt

Fig. 2.13. Advertisements appearing in the back pages: some targeted the *OMKT*'s cultured clientele but other sponsors promoted simple mass-market products. The left page promotes creams, cosmetics, and bandages. The right page advertises *Uj Idők*, a seminal literary journal of the period which frequently covered events on the art market. Source: *Tárgymutató az Orsz. Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1899 évi Tavaszi Nemzetközi Kiállítására* [Catalogue, 1899].

The Economics of Painting during the *OMKT*'s Monopoly

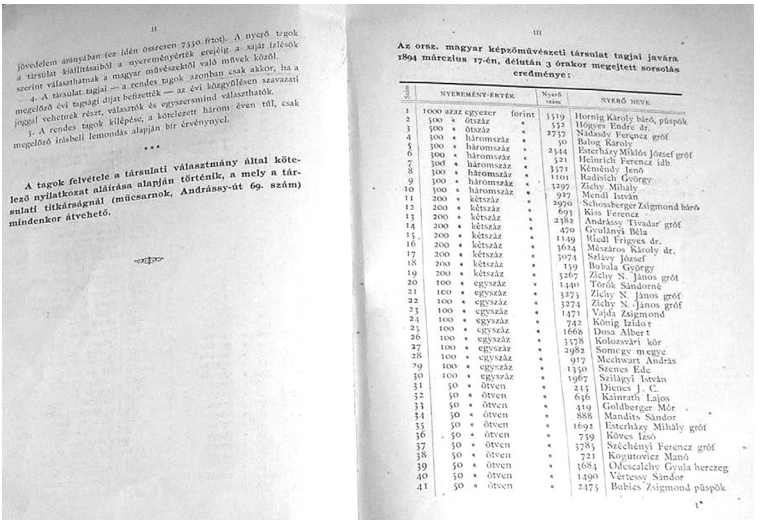
The *OMKT* served as a distribution point for paintings through three distinct methods: state purchases, raffles, and purchases by private collectors. Only the last category really represents the activity of true art collecting. The other two categories, whether state purchases or raffles, represent something of a hybrid between patronage and income support. State purchases themselves could be subdivided into art bought by the Royal Chancellery, or bought for specific use in the newly built Royal Palace on Castle Hill, or purchases made by other state entities either for inclusion in the National Museum (and the later the Fine Arts Museum) or to decorate ministry buildings. Though this does not represent classic patronage *per se*, since the artworks were not pre-ordered for precisely defined purposes; still those paintings that were bought usually were simply unsuitable for bourgeois homes on account of their immense size. Furthermore, the artworks

had, in fact, already been predestined by the artist himself for use only in a patronage-like setting. The raffle presents a more curious institution, and one difficult to define in economic terms. The practice had already been pioneered by the *Műegylet* as a means to push art out onto a public that knew it ought to collect but was uncertain what was worth collecting. Furthermore, given a consumer base with only limited purchasing power, a lottery-based distribution model provided a collective subsidy for the building of private collections. The *OMKT*'s raffle provided anyone who held supporting member (*tag*) status with a raffle ticket which could win a voucher withal specified value. The rules for the 1894 Spring salon raffle read as follows:

> The Society organizes a raffle annually, strictly for its membership, for which Patrons receive 15 raffle tickets, Founders receive 3, and Members receive 1, which are marked by their membership number. Every year the Society designates a certain amount of money for the purchase of raffle artworks, drawn from a proportion of the membership income [the amount for 1894 was 7,550 forints]. The winning members can select according to their own taste to the value of their prize from among the art works by Hungarian artists.[52]

The raffle was actually held prior to the exhibition itself, since we find the winners already listed at the beginning of each catalogue; in later years, the artwork chosen was also listed.[53] More than half the vouchers were usually of low value, 50–100 forints (100–200 korona), which made available only the most inexpensive works, that is primarily paper-based drawings and watercolors. The voucher could also, however, function as a subsidy towards the purchase of a more high-value work.

The unintended consequence of the *OMKT*'s efforts to promote the development of art in Hungary was a vast expansion in the number of painters. For the 1898–99 Winter Exhibition and the 1899 Spring Exhibition, 262 artists were invited to submit works.[54] For the 1899–1900 Winter exhibition and the 1900 Spring Exhibition, 301 artists were invited.[55] Within one year, this represented 14% growth in the number of artists competing for space on the *Műcsarnok* walls. Given the persistently dismal level of private purchasing, the *OMKT* could only improve the lot of artists by constricting supply, and so in 1900 only 214 artists were invited to submit for the 1900–01 Winter Exhibition



II

jövedelem arányában (ez idén összesen 7550 frtot). A nyerő tagok a társulat kiállításából a nyereményérték erejéig a saját ízlésök szerint választhatnak a magyar művészektől való művek közöl.

4. A társulat tagjai — a rendes tagok azonban csak akkor, ha a megelőző évi tagsági díjat befizették — az évi közgyűlésen szavazati joggal vehetnek részt, választók és egyszersmind választhatók.

5. A rendes tagok kilépése, a kötelezett három éven túl, csak megelőző írásbeli lemondás alapján bír érvénynyel.

* * *

A tagok felvétele a társulati választmány által kötelező nyilatkozat aláírása alapján történik, a mely a társulati titkárságnál (műcsarnok, Andrássy-út 69. szám) mindenkor átvehető.

III

Az orsz. magyar képzőművészeti társulat tagjai javára 1894 márczius 17-én, délután 3 órakor megejtett sorsolás eredménye:

Szám	NYEREMÉNY-ÉRTÉK	Nyerő szám	NYERŐ NEVE
1	1000 azaz egyezer forint	3519	Hornig Károly báró, püspök
2	500 « ötszáz «	552	Högyes Endre dr.
3	500 « ötszáz «	2737	Nádasdy Ferencz gróf
4	300 « háromszáz «	50	Balog Károly
5	300 « háromszáz «	2544	Esterházy Miklós József gróf
6	300 « háromszáz «	521	Heinrich Ferencz idb.
7	300 « háromszáz «	3571	Kéméndy Jenő
8	300 « háromszáz «	1101	Radisich György
9	300 « háromszáz «	3297	Zichy Mihály
10	300 « háromszáz «	927	Mendl István
11	200 « kétszáz «	2970	Schossberger Zsigmond báró
12	200 « kétszáz «	693	Kiss Ferencz
13	200 « kétszáz «	2382	Andrássy Tivadar gróf
14	200 « kétszáz «	470	Gyulányi Béla
15	200 « kétszáz «	1149	Riedl Frigyes dr.
16	200 « kétszáz «	3624	Mészáros Károly dr.
17	200 « kétszáz «	3074	Szlávy József
18	200 « kétszáz «	159	Bubala György
19	200 « kétszáz «	3267	Zichy N. János gróf
20	100 « egyszáz «	1440	Török Sándorné
21	100 « egyszáz «	3275	Zichy N. János gróf
22	100 « egyszáz «	3274	Zichy N. János gróf
23	100 « egyszáz «	1471	Vajda Zsigmond
24	100 « egyszáz «	742	König Izidor
25	100 « egyszáz «	1668	Dosa Albert
26	100 « egyszáz «	3578	Kolozsvári kör
27	100 « egyszáz «	2982	Somogy megye
28	100 « egyszáz «	917	Mechwart András
29	100 « egyszáz «	1350	Szenes Ede
30	100 « egyszáz «	1967	Szilágyi István
31	50 « ötven «	235	Dienes J. C.
32	50 « ötven «	636	Kainrath Lajos
33	50 « ötven «	419	Goldberger Mór
34	50 « ötven «	888	Mandits Sándor
35	50 « ötven «	1692	Esterházy Mihály gróf
36	50 « ötven «	759	Köves Izsó
37	50 « ötven «	3785	Széchényi Ferencz gróf
38	50 « ötven «	721	Kogutovicz Manó
39	50 « ötven «	3684	Odescalchy Gyula herczeg
40	50 « ötven «	1490	Vértessy Sándor
41	50 « ötven «	2475	Bubics Zsigmond püspök

Fig. 2.13. Section on the lottery from the 1894 Spring salon. The rules appear on the right, and the left page lists the winners and the amount won. Source: *A Műcsarnokban 1894 évben rendezett Tavaszi Kiállítástárgymutatója* [Catalogue, 1894].

Fig. 2.14 A contemporary cartoon mocking the distinctions between qualified or licensed painters and amateurs, and comparing them to industrial tradesmen, with industrial pavilions in the background. Source: *Almanach (Képzőművészeti Lexikon)* ed. Béla Déry, László Bányász, Ernő Margitay (Budapest: Légrády Testvérek, 1912).

and the 1901 Spring Exhibition.[56] Despite the austerity in invitations, which served as an indicator of likely favorable treatment by the jury, waves of uninvited artists continued to submit as well, which resulted in the *1900 Salon des Refusés* [see Chapter 3].

The *OMKT*'s undeniable contribution to the development of Hungarian art was its establishment of a tradition of art collecting. Even if it had to employ the hybrid tactic of the raffle in order to stimulate demand, the organization also genuinely advanced the practice of collectors visiting the salon and paying for ready-made art which the collectors themselves selected. The chart below shows the

Year	Royal Chan-cellery	Royal Palace	by the state	by *OMKT*		Private collectors	Total Purchases at *OMKT* in given year	Private collector purchases as percent-age of total	Collector spending (11 year averages)
				for museum	for raffle				
1877			12,900		6,600	6,760	26,260	25.74%	
1878			18,110	9,615	13,020	12,960	53,705	24.13%	
1879			7,420		3,166	30,852	41,438	74.45%	
1880			5,000		1,500	27,628	34,128	80.95%	
1881			8,023		9,980	48,427	68,430	70.77%	
1882	18,800		7,000	8,000	10,024	66,424	110,248	60.25%	
1883	4,800		7,158	2,000	13,052	60,420	87,430	69.11%	
1884	13,000		2,400		12,700	55,862	83,962	66.53%	
1885			10,500	5,000	17,200	34,397	67,097	51.26%	
1886	32,500		2,400	3,000	14,890	44,558	97,348	45.77%	
1887	10,200		18,780		13,468	41,170	83,618	49.24%	
1888	18,000		10,126		12,650	43,876	84,052	52.20%	43,030
1889	19,600		14,480		13,800	80,006	127,886	62.56%	
1890	17,640		21,280	4,000	12,060	89,450	144,430	61.93%	
1891	14,200		25,350		14,640	65,976	120,166	54.90%	
1892	15,900		19,000	3,000	15,330	92,606	145,836	63.50%	
1893	15,000		19,954	5,000	13,800	109,706	163,460	67.11%	
1894	15,200		20,600	2,000	14,400	62,938	115,138	54.66%	
1895	15,200		20,556	2,000	15,160	61,114	114,030	53.59%	
1896	14,200		156,018	30,000	20,000	41,894	262,112	15.98%	
1897	14,600		64,800		15,400	70,214	165,014	42.55%	
1898	8,000		81,468	3,200	13,900	77,976	184,544	42.25%	
1899	16,000		106,060	1,400	16,370	77,834	217,664	35.76%	79,417
1900	10,000		53,330	3,400	41,000	87,575	195,305	44.84%	
1901	10,000		78,700	1,800	21,780	107,115	219,395	48.82%	
1902	4,500	77,386	79,636	2,200	23,530	82,341	269,593	30.54%	
1903	8,900	23,500	128,961	2,000	33,330	127,840	324,531	39.39%	
1904	8,330	23,000	61,720	850	39,550	97,119	230,569	42.12%	
1905	8,850		99,534		40,000	87,185	235,569	37.01%	
1906	10,000	3,300	92,180		40,030	132,837	278,347	47.72%	
1907	10,000		12,340	7,150	48,080	69,395	146,965	47.22%	
1908	13,100		370,108		50,100	68,404	501,712	13.63%	
1909	9,800		51,510	6,000	49,250	112,833	229,393	49.19%	
1910	10,128		19,650		44,700	133,816	208,294	64.24%	107,663
Total	**366,448**	**127,186**	**1,707,052**	**101,615**	**724,460**	**2,409,508**	**5,437,669**	**44.31%**	**73,015**

Tab. 2.2. Purchasing at the *OMKT* by categories (values in Kr.)
Source: Author's database and Szmrecsányi, "Visszapillantás".

purchases by private individuals. Initially, private buyers represented only 25% of the total art distributed at the salon in the year the first *Műcsarnok* opened, 1877. An equivalent amount would also be distributed by the *OMKT* through the raffle, with the painters being paid for their works from the membership dues revenues. At that time the state still represented the primary buyer, purchasing nearly 50% of all the artworks sold that year. Very rapidly, however, private buying began to represent a far larger share of the sales, and by 1880, it reached over 80% of total business activity. The rate then stabilized at 50–65% of sales until competition began to be felt from the *Nemzeti Szalon* by the late 1890s, and even more as other venues entered the market. Thus, the percentage of collector purchasing dropped to 30–50% for the years 1897–1910. During years of particular prestige importance, large state purchases could dwarf the impact of private buyers. For example, in 1896 the Millennium Exposition brought immense revenue to the *OMKT* and its artists, and in 1908 the generosity stemming from the celebration of Franz Josef's Jubilee helped offset a precipitous decline in private spending in 1907 and 1908. A disastrous 47% drop in overall spending at the *Műcsarnok* in 1907, as compared to 1906, helped brew populist revolts at both the *OMKT* and the *Nemzeti Szalon*, and bring in new leadership (though in fact, the same leadership) at both institutions.[57] Over the entire period from 1877–1910, a steady rise in private collectorship spending can be observed. The eleven year average ending in 1888 showed yearly spending by private buyers to be 43,030 kr., by 1899 the amount was 79,417 kr., and in 1910 it reached 107,663 kr. Furthermore, the last period's increase occurred against a backdrop of competition from the *Nemzeti Szalon* and other new commercial enterprises.[58]

Year	1880	1885	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910
Membership	1,556	2,237	2,101	2,588	3,439	6,112	7,484
Membership dues	26,040	37,990	36,030	41,450	59,590	112,320	137,740
Raffle spending	1,500	17,200	12,060	15,160	41,000	40,000	44,700
Administrative overhead	24,540	20,790	23,970	26,290	18,590	72,320	93,040

Tab. 2.3. Membership, membership dues revenue, raffle spending, administrative overhead.[59] Source: Table 2.2 and for membership: Gergely, "Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat," 295.

By comparing membership income against lottery expenditures, an indication of the *OMKT*'s operating expenses can also be determined. They hover at a relatively constant 20,000 korona to cover logistics, setting up the exhibitions, printing catalogues, and covering other administrative costs. The great leap in overhead costs after 1900 can be attributed most directly to the subsidy for the new art journal *Művészet*, and the surge in membership driven by the additional benefit of a complimentary subscription to the journal. In 1909 Kézdi-Kovács complained that the journal subsidy cost the *OMKT* 72,000 korona annually.[60] Once that cost is deducted, the *OMKT*, even in the first decade of the twentieth century, appears to have run on a regular budget of approximately 20,000 korona a year drawn from membership dues.

The Independent Jury and Kézdi-Kovács's Consolidation of Power

By the early 1890s, the old *Műcsarnok*'s capacity constraints were reaching crisis proportions, and the first in a rippling series of revolts broke out over the inexorable scarcity of exhibition space. The first walk-out resulted in the formation of the *Nemzeti Szalon* in 1894. Much of the tension was momentarily quelled by the construction of the new *Műcsarnok*. The *OMKT*'s leadership decided, however, to devote the building's additional capacity to more favorable hanging techniques that would give the displayed works a larger amount of space rather than to expand market capacity. Disillusionment with the usage of the new *Műcsarnok* helped to produce a resurgent *Nemzeti Szalon* by 1900. An inflexibility in the *OMKT*'s exhibition policy prompted the Hollósy School/Nagybánya show to find their own venue, and excessive rejections by the jury prompted the formation of the 1900 *Salon des Refusés* (*Visszautasítottak Szalonja*).[61] Throughout the first decade of the twentieth century, the *OMKT* careened among various attempts to find a solution to the recurring dissatisfaction with the jury's decisions. In 1905, a new attempt was made to have an "independent" jury, though it included most of the same characters who had sat on the jury in preceding years: Benczúr, Róbert Nádler (1858–1938), Imre Knopp (1867–1943), and László Hegedűs (1870–1911). They did, however, also seat Modernist Károly Ferenczy (1862–1917) as vice-chairman.[62] The actual collection that year seemed to feature an even more

disproportionate amount of works from privileged members, with 12 works by Knopp, 18 by Hugó Poll (1867–1931), and 11 by Sándor Bihari (1855–1906). Critics did also note that the exhibition featured 43 new names including: József Egry (1883–1951), Dezső Orbán (1884–1986), and Sándor Ziffer (1880–1962).[63] Overall, though, the reform was greeted with overwhelming dissatisfaction: "For years, perhaps even as far back as when they began to show pictures out at the City Park [the new *Műcsarnok*], there has never been such an unbelievably bad exhibition as this one."[64] "We expected to see a lot more new [artists] and more definable achievements from the so-called Independent Jury."[65]

> And so the Independent Jury came to pass. The first realization was that they didn't know what to do. They couldn't make any radical changes, in part because they wouldn't dare to, in part because it wasn't their nature to, but they felt pangs of conscience to do something, since the young artists were waiting for something. In the old place, the regulars are still there, but the young ones also came, and a great transformation took place which we can simply title: "Here's some art."[66]

The following year, 1906, the "ultra-moderns"[67] (that largely meant Ferenczy) were swept out of the jury again, but the now thoroughly respectable Pál Szinyei Merse (1845–1920) took a seat instead. Otherwise, the jury retained the same characters: for example Nádler, Poll, Ignác Ujváry (1860–1927), Andor Dudits (1866–1944), and, of course, Benczúr.[68] Though the jury would continue to refer to itself as "Independent," it increasingly became identified as one where "a young person could only get in if out of 10 paintings there's one where he's totally compromised himself..."[69] By the Winter 1907–08 exhibition, the jury's composition took on an even more bizarre twist as it came to be dominated by the same characters who were leading the anti-Modernist *Maradiak* [Traditionalist] camp at the *Nemzeti Szalon*. The new *OMKT* jury chairman would be Ödön Kacziány (1852–1933),[70] one of the original ring leaders of those rebels who formed the *Nemzeti Szalon* back in 1894, and he was, at the same time, serving as a member of the *Szalon*'s jury.[71] The putsch at the *Nemzeti Szalon*, as well as the one at the *OMKT*, were both orchestrated by that year's *OMKT* vice-chairman, László Kézdi-Kovács, who was simultaneously serving as the artistic director of the *Nemzeti Szalon*, and was joined on both juries by the art nouveau painter, Imre Knopp.[72] In addition, the new

OMKT jury featured a number of early protégés of the former *Nemzeti Szalon* president, János Hock (1859–1936): among them Aladár Edvi Illés (1870–1958) and Hugó Poll.[73] The revolts of the crisis year of 1907 saw the populist leaders of the artist proletariat succeed in taking over both institutions at the same time, and in fact, they took over the *OMKT* slightly earlier than their putsch at the *Nemzeti Szalon*.[74]

The periodic attempts at reconciliation between the *Műcsarnok* establishment and the Modernist painters were driven by the sheer market potential the institution represented. Many painters had little loyalty to any particular institution and were quite willing to maximize their chances for sales and exhibit wherever they could. Lajos Gulácsy (1882–1932), for example, was among the handful of Modernists, along with Bertalan Pór (1880–1964) and Ödön Márffy (1878–1959), who were actually able to launch their careers in Hungary at the *Műcsarnok*; but even they also faced rejections and would often re-shop their works at the *Nemzeti Szalon*. Gulácsy did exactly that in 1905 with his *Portrait of a Man in a Beret*, which was displayed prominently on an easel as a reproach to the *OMKT*.[75] László Kézdi-Kovács, who had by then become ensconced as part of the *Műcsarnok* establishment, could not help noting that big names were staying away: "Hungarian art's latest production had always regularly been displayed at the *Műcsarnok*. But, for a couple of years now, the situation has changed. Outstanding masters have sat out the big exhibition. Perhaps they are bothered by the market commotion and the scramble for laurels..."[76] A year later, the situation had not improved, and critics increasingly spoke of the *Műcsarnok csődje,* meaning failure, collapse or, literally, bankruptcy of the institution. Alfréd Lakos (1870–1961), another virulently anti-modern critic, tried place the blame on the ultra-moderns:

> At this year's exhibition, in the first ten days, the *Műcsarnok* has sold one painting. Many believe that this is a condemnation of old painting because the army of modern and ultramodern painters has not exhibited here this year but instead has planned exhibitions elsewhere. This is incorrect and it is a false assertion. This year's *Műcsarnok* is crawling with ultramodernism, with ignorance, and intellectual emptiness, which is not the fault of the old but the fault of ultramodernism. This tactical maneuver we want to refute because the "collapse [*csődje*] of the *Műcsarnok*" proves the collapse of ultramodernism. 90 paintings out of a 100 at the *Műcsarnok* are ultramodern.[77]

In fact, the *OMKT*'s artistic committee consulted with Elek K. Lippich, an advisor in the Ministry of Culture, in February 1908, where he unequivocally stated: "...addressing those who accuse the Ministry of Culture of giving material and moral support to artists of the ultramodern direction. We state that the Ministry is decisively against our young artists bringing back this foreign art slop."[78] Such reassurance was short-lived, however, as Lippich would soon accept work from the *M.I.É.N.K.* group as well as the Gödöllői artists' colony for the London World Exhibition of 1908, even though the *OMKT* leadership regarded these groups as insignificant un-representational samplings of Hungarian art and protested that the *OMKT* was the only authoritative representative body for all artists.[79] The leadership, in response to the outrage of including these fringe groups, voted to boycott their traditional role as jury members for the collection to be sent to London. Kézdi-Kovács, at this point embroiled in bitter battles for his continued leadership at both institutions, took his revenge with a familiar tactic: he attacked his esthetic enemies with foreign press clippings meant to serve as indicators of respected un-biased opinion from abroad. In this case, *Pesti Hírlap* quoted the *Corriere della Sera*'s review of the Hungarian pavilion at the Venice Biennale: "Everyone from Perlmutter to Mihalik, [...] Csók, Ferenczy, Kosztolányi and Szlányi, all of them appear to be the dutiful and intelligent students of some foreign master, but they follow the mistakes rather than the virtues, in fact they succeed with barbaric brutality..."[80] Kézdi-Kovács's main ally, a gloating Alfréd Lakos, would repeat the Italian paper's crushing verdict nine days later so as to insure its wide-spread dissemination, and he would furthermore claim that the poor reception essentially made the Hungarian pavilion a total waste of money.[81]

At the beginning of 1909 new attempts at rapprochement were launched. For the *OMKT*'s 50th Jubilee Year, the *Műcsarnok* was to be expanded with two temporary side halls, so that "all the artistic factions can take part in one big exhibition."[82] And soon after this over-optimistic pronouncement (the side halls did not appear),[83] *Magyar Nemzet* announce that the *M.I.É.N.K.* would be dissolved and its members would once again join the *Műcsarnok* (this prediction also failed to materialize).[84]

The most contentious issue continued to be the allocation of wall space. In 1908, to address the decline in collector spending, the jury again embarked on the strategy of market constriction. When only

319 artworks were accepted for the 1908 Spring *Műcsarnok*[85] and 1,000 were rejected, the result was another *Visszautasítottak Szalonja* [*Salon des Refusés*].[86] Critics were increasingly pointing out that the massive building was being under-utilized, sitting empty for nearly three-quarters of the year, and that, as was the case with the 1908 Spring, some exhibitions did not even make full use of all the building's exhibit halls.[87] Gusztáv Magyar-Mannheimer (1859–1937), who considered himself a quite well-established artist, was outraged when even he suffered the indignity of having his *Roma Campagna* refused, and only when he protested vehemently did the jury relent (a recourse not available to most painters). When the salon opened, he made a point of personally leading Count Andrássy to see the painting in order to highlight the jury's injustice.[88]

The Increasing Irrelevance of the *OMKT*

Throughout the first decade of the twentieth century, critics were evermore frequently writing the obituary of the *Műcsarnok* as an institution:

> The lack of talent, the disorder, the chaos, the pathetic attempts by the more youthful old painters, and the contempt for the profession by the definitely old painters, all sit in an orgy of disharmony, terror, and stupefaction. When I left the *Műcsarnok,* I left it for the last time, and I saw that a great coffin [the *Műcsarnok*] was covered with a black flag. The *Műcsarnok* mourns art, to which it gave life, and which it now buries within its walls.[89]

Furthermore, commentators were now aware of how many other competing institutions were also bringing art to the market: "honestly, this month there are more exhibitions than healthy, serious, honorable artistic development really requires. Neither [does it require] great numbers or piles of pictures, an offering ten, a hundred times more than demand, and the offering itself is generally junk."[90] In fact, all the attention in the local art world seemed to be diverted elsewhere:

> Szinyei, Ferenczy, Fényes, Olgyay, Vaszary, Mannheimer, Kacziány, Grünwald in the *Nemzeti Szalon*, Rippl-Rónai at the *Könyves-Kálmán*,

> Mihalik and the young Márffy and Gulácsy at the *Uránia*, the Applied Arts Museum is showing Beardsley, and soon the *Szalon* will be having Gauguin and Cézanne—the entire world of modern art is promenading round us and the *Műcsarnok* slumbers as if in narcosis.[91]

At the height of Kézdi-Kovács' power, in 1909, and after the *M.I.É.N.K.*'s expulsion from the *Nemzeti Szalon*, Géza Lengyel, the critic for *Nyugat*, noted that now there was virtually no difference in the offerings of the *Műcsarnok* and the *Nemzeti Szalon*.[92]

At this point in 1909, with the *Uránia* collapsing and the *Művészház* yet to open, Kézdi-Kovács ruled over five-sixths of the Budapest art market's capacity.[93] Furthermore, from his perch as the art columnist for the most widely read paper in the country, *Pesti Hírlap*, he could exert an unrivaled influence over public perceptions, and references to the scale of his power became a constant refrain in the Modernist press:

> Kézdi-Kovács, if he did not write for *Pesti Hírlap*, would be a painter of otherwise no consideration. For this reason he has to be respected, things must be written about him, and one is not allowed to roll one's eyes. Kézdi-Kovács is a feared critic among the painters. In the end, a lot of people read *Pesti Hírlap*, and what Kézdi-Kovács writes in that paper dictates taste to the tasteless... They read his opinions on painting and don't think that this man also paints, in fact he paints horribly bad paintings, and he lives from what he gets for these paintings, and that's why he derides the young artists, because they paint better than he does.[94]

Yet it is precisely in this sector of criticism, the press, that his frustration over his inability to stamp out the Modernist threat is most apparent. The dramatically expanding print media at the time continually added to the cacophony of art criticism and increasingly diluted Kézdi-Kovács' attacks by adding more and more writers sympathetic to the Modernist camp. None of these opponents was more galling to him than Károly Lyka (1869–1965), whose journal *Művészet*, essentially the continuation of the *OMKT*'s official journal *Műcsarnok*, received a 72,000 korona yearly subsidy and was distributed free to *OMKT* duespayers as a benefit of membership. Despite that official support, the journal failed to stand with the *OMKT*'s leadership and attack the

modernist camp. In an unsigned article in *Pesti Hírlap*, Kézdi-Kovács threatened to cut off *Művészet*'s funding, thereby saving the institution 72,000 korona a year. He made the accusation that: "For years *Művészet* has exclusively dealt with those artists who, at the same time, have for many years intentionally sat out the *Műcsarnok* exhibitions so that they could artificially degrade its quality."[95] And though the article was not signed (this allowed him to refer to himself as a member of the investigating committee in the third person), the author was surely Kézdi-Kovács. He believed he was speaking for 90 percent of Hungarian artists (by virtue of being the most powerful individual at both the *Nemzeti Szalon* and *Műcsarnok*) when he stated: "nine-tenths of Hungarian artists and laity are dissatisfied with *Művészet* because it is tendentiously and badly edited."[96] The threat appears never to have been acted upon and may have been intended to generate more sympathetic coverage in advance of the *OMKT*'s 1909–10 Winter salon.

When it was not being attacked for being too restrictive, the *Műcsarnok* was also criticized for its extremely high number of works (662) and the crowdedness of the display, and the fact that the artists on the jury, such as Kézdi-Kovács, Szenes, and Jendrássik, dominate the walls in unfair proportions.[97] The *KÉVE*'s 1909 show at the *Nemzeti Szalon* was now being offered as the ideal for how an exhibition should be staged:

> Now that *KÉVE* has shown how an exhibition should be done: not this fully cluttered *Műcsarnok* with its horribly colored walls which clobber the paintings to death within their own frames. It would require unbelievable obstinacy and short-sightedness, after the example [of the *KÉVE*], for them still not to know how to stage an exhibit.[98] Nonetheless, the *OMKT* held fast to its exclusive role as the venue for officially sanctioned art and still controlled, for all its faults, the most desirable venue in the city. Géza Lengyel, who was quickly becoming Kézdi-Kovács's most pointed and articulate critic, described the situation as if the *Műcsarnok* were an ancient and respected firm that regards all newly arriving artists with suspicion as long as they have not been given a showing at this official forum.[99]

Again in 1910, Kézdi-Kovács had the rumor reported in *Pesti Napló* that given the collapse of the *M.I.É.N.K.*, its leading artists—Ferenczy,

Csók, Magyar-Mannheimer, Rippl-Rónai, and Iványi-Grünwald—would rejoin the *Műcsarnok*.[100] The re-union again did not take place. Instead, the death of the *Műcsarnok* was soon being predicted once more: "In the last years it has turned out that the *Műcsarnok* has no inclination towards a natural death, but the critics and the artists have clenched their fists, and preparations have been made for a ceremonial execution."[101]

In fact, neither death nor re-birth occurred but rather irrelevance. One year before the cataclysmic intervallum of the First World War, a final reconciliation was attempted by splitting the *Műcsarnok*'s exhibition capacity between two juries: 1) An Independent [*Független*] Artists' Jury, which was led by Kacziány and included Kézdi-Kovács and many of those same types who had ruled there for over eight years; and 2) a Free [*Szabad*] Artists' Jury, which featured Szinyei-Merse. Each jury was given nine of the *Műcsarnok*'s halls to fill, with sculpture and architecture un-affected by this division. It is in this divided format that the institution exited the period under consideration, and it continued to operate with such a structure throughout the First World War.[102]

Chapter 3: The *Nemzeti Szalon* Shatters the *OMKT*'s Monopoly

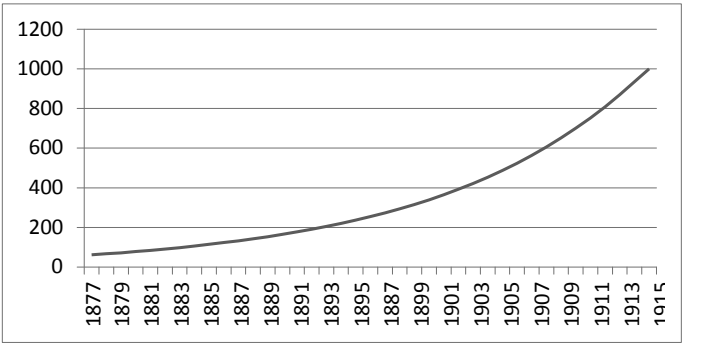
The Crisis Years of the 1890s

The *Nemzeti Szalon* did not aspire to be Budapest's version of the Secession. Not being so much the Secession itself, rather it became the battleground on which it emerged, arising out of the institution's struggles to survive as an alternative point of access for quantities of artistic production that had far exceeded the capacity of a single exhibition society. Its original aims had been to re-orient commerce in contemporary art and make it more closely resemble casino society (essentially, the upper class world of private clubs), only in this case with pictures for sale on the walls and the painters present at the card tables and on the dance floor in order to better acquaint society with their work. The formation of the *Nemzeti Szalon* in the early 1890s was not emboldened by any battle cry for Modernism (artists would not begin to use that word for another decade) but rather by the notion that artists and audience had been hopelessly divided from one another by the impersonal scale of the *Műcsarnok*, and that the market could be re-invigorated by blending with it the more organic interactions of nightlife. The instigators of this insurrection were an unlikely collection of forgettable minor masters and practitioners of painting styles that were in no way unconventional. The battle to establish the *Nemzeti Szalon* was driven not by aesthetics but by economics and pitted an established labor aristocracy against a burgeoning "artist proletariat." That same narrative would then replay twice more within the confines of the *Nemzeti Szalon* itself. In time, in an ironically un-Marxist dialectic, this proletariat's struggle would be rewarded with free market capitalism in the art business.

The *Műcsarnok* building (now known as the Old *Műcsarnok*) at Sugár út (Andrássy út) had been criticized from its inception in 1877

for its poor lighting and clumsy display arrangement.[1] Increasingly, by the 1890s, it was also failing to provide adequate capacity for the burgeoning population of painters in the capital. Whereas in 1876, when the *OMKT* still used a series of rooms in the Academy of Sciences, only 117 works were displayed, at the inaugural exhibition of the Sugár út *Műcsarnok* in 1877, 351 works were shown, representing a 300% increase in exhibition capacity.[2] That great expansion of hanging space came at a time when the number of painters who participated was no more than 62.[3] By 1885, at the prestigious International Salon, 125 Hungarian artists took part, with 90 residing in Budapest, 10 in the countryside, and 25 living abroad.[4] Writing 30 years later in 1915 in the art journal *Művészet*, Béla Gonda Jr. estimated that no more than 100 painters in Budapest in 1885 had actually lived from selling their work[5], and his estimate also verifies this number of painters at that time at around 100–125. By 1915, however, Gonda believed there to be 1,000 active Hungarian painters. That estimate is corroborated by Károly Lyka who, in making preparations for his book on the period spanning 1896 to the First World War,[6] counted "many more than a thousand" artists working at that time that he himself could call to mind.[7]

Drawing on these calculations, a growth rate of 7–8 percent annually in the number of Hungarian painters can be charted from 1877 (the opening of the first *Műcsarnok* building) until 1915. Such an expansion can be explained by the fact that in 1876 the *Mintarajz Iskola* (Technical Drawing School) next to the *Műcsarnok* on the Sugár út



Tab. 3.1. Estimated number of active Hungarian painters 1877–1915. The chart starts with 62 for the year 1877 and 115 for the year 1885. By 1915, there are over 1,000 painters active in Hungary. Source: See Appendix I for a full explanation of sourcing for this table.

Fig. 3.1. The *Mintarajz Iskola* (Technical Drawing School), opened in 1876. The first Műcsarnok can be seen on the right edge. Source: György Klösz photograph, c. 1880s. *Budapesti Történeti Múzeum-Kiscelli Múzeum*.

opened its doors to students, and in 1884 Gyula Benczúr began operating the painters' *Mesteriskola* [Master School] in the *Epreskert*, the old mulberry orchard that ran along the north side of the Sugár út. Later, in 1893, Benczúr's school would be joined by one devoted to fresco painting under the tutelage of Károly Lotz (1833–1904).[8] Furthermore, ever more highly-motivated students were pursuing their education abroad, especially in Munich, whether at the Royal Academy or at Simon Hollósy's (1857–1918) private school.[9] The consequence of these state investments in artistic education and the railroad's ability to make study abroad an ever more affordable proposition was a growth in the number of art producers that quickly out-stripped the market's capacity to absorb their production. In less than a decade, from 1885 to 1894, the number of Hungarian painters competing on the Budapest market probably doubled, from around 100–125 to around 225–250.[10] Spending on the market grew impressively as well: a five-year average for the years up to 1885 shows 83,891 korona/year for total expenditures at the *OMKT*; by 1894 the five-year average would show 137,806 korona/year. Even that growth, 5.7% annually, could not, however, keep pace with the 7–8% yearly increase in the number of artists.[11] Further-

more, although spending might have nearly kept up, wall space could not because it was finite.

By 1894, the first *Műcsarnok* was becoming less and less capable of presenting all the works wanting to go to market. Although initially opened to present on average 350 works at one salon, by 1890, the interior exhibition space was being stuffed to hold up to 550 works at one time; but at these denser exhibitions foreign artists would routinely occupy over 40 percent of the spaces. The large presence of foreign painters clearly had become an issue, and the *OMKT*'s spring 1894 exhibit represented an attempt to accommodate those outraged by the fact that excessive wall-space was being given over to foreign works. At that show the painters showing were all considered Hungarian, though many were actually working abroad. From that point on, the quantities of foreign works decreased but the number of places going to Hungarian artists remains relatively constant at an average of 278 over the period from 1890 to 1895. Using the projections of the growth in the number of painters [see Table 3.1], by 1894 there should have been approximately 220–230 competitors on the market. That would

Figs. 3.2., 3.3. Foreign works arriving and being cleared by customs at the *OMKT*, 1903. Source: *Ödön* Békei photographs, *Uj Idők*, 1903, vol. IX, no. 25.

Exhibition	Total works	Foreign works	% of foreign works	Spaces available for Hungarian artists
OMKT 1890 Winter	445	194	44%	251
OMKT 1891–1892 Winter	550	255	46%	295
OMKT 1892–1893 Winter	527	200	38%	327
OMKT 1893–1894 Winter	443	196	44%	247
OMKT 1894 Spring	329	0	0%	329
OMKT 1894–1895 Winter	355	79	22%	276
OMKT 1895 Winter	311	89	29%	222
	Average spaces available for Hungarian artists			278

Tab. 3.2. Numbers of works exhibited and ratios of foreign and Hungarian works. Source: *OMKT* catalogues 1890–95.

mean that only 1.2 artwork slots were available to each artist at any given exhibition. Furthermore, since established names usually were allowed to show more than one work, increasingly not all painters were even able to get a single piece into the show, and rejections grew apace with the burgeoning "artist proletariat."

The over-supply of artists only continued to be exacerbated by the ever greater production of their works. Furthermore, women were entering the market in increasingly larger numbers, even though many of them retreated into inactivity in later life. Éva Bicskei has determined that approximately 500 women studied at the *Mintarajz Iskola* between 1870 and 1908.[12] The problems were further compounded by ever more private schools producing even more competitors. In 1899 Bertalan Karlovszky (1858–1938) and Ákos Tolnay (1861–?) opened a women's' art school, and Ferenc Szablya-Frischauf (1876–1962) would open one in 1905.[13] In fact, an art educational district was emerging along the Sugár út and its side streets in the villa quarter. The shortage of sales increasingly drove more and more artists to supplement their income by teaching, which could take many forms, from private tutoring of privileged children to full-time official state jobs. Erika Szívós has determined that between 1871 and 1918, 47 artists taught at the *Mintarajziskola* and the later Academy alone.[14] For even the most elite artists, such as Károly Ferenczy (1862–1917), an educational position was essential to provide a stable income in the absence of sales.[15]

The Establishment of the *Nemzeti Szalon*

The collision of these irreconcilable economic forces first began to make itself apparent in the early 1890s. In 1892 and 1893 a series of minor revolts against the leadership saw the formation of numerous small groupings of disgruntled painters. In Béla Pállik (1845–1908), who had recently been removed from a selection jury, the rebels found an instinctual leader; but Pállik's rebellion proved short lived, as he was reputedly bought off with the Rath Prize and a commission to paint an equestrian portrait of Count Gyula Andrássy (1823–90).[16] Without a leader, the groups atomized, but new points of gravity would appear in late 1893 at two taverns in the *Józsefváros* district, the *Herlicska*—around Kálmán Mesterházy (1857–98)—and the *Morbitzer*–around Ignácz Roskovics (1854–1915). The smoky gatherings were filled with incendiary rhetoric and audacious suggestions: "We need to overthrow and destroy the *Műcsarnok* leadership," and "Let's break away and be independent!"[17] Tihamér Margitay (1859–1922), a well-established painter known for his finely drawn scenes of contemporary urban courtship, became the new figurehead, and he was joined by the firebrand Ödön Kacziány, whose rhetoric was as articulate as his painting was morbidly obtuse.

Kacziány argued that bread was needed not firebombs, and in their case, the artists needed a market that provided a decent standard of living, not just minor changes to the selection jury.[18]

At a meeting at the Herlicska in late 1893, the fate of the majority of artists was described as follows:

> The greatest problem was that, in the absence of sales, one simply couldn't live. Whoever does not sell at the salon would starve until the next exhibit, or he could bargain with a picture agent who might offer at most an old watch, a colorful rag, a flask, a saber, or a shabby divan in exchange, but very little money.[19]

The solution seemed to lie in new forms of commerce. The first proposition, from Kacziány, would have resembled the contemporary model of a cooperative gallery. He suggested renting a shop space, like the *Józsefváros* cabinetmakers, and 30 artists would take turns minding the shop one day a month. The plan did not come to fruition because successful artists were not willing to sit in a gallery all day selling other

painters' works, and, furthermore, many of them could not afford the five forints each member would have had to put up as seed capital. Instead, a frantic organizing drive resulted less than a month later, with a mass meeting in January 1894 at the Hotel Metropol.[20] In preparation for the meeting, Mesterházy played an invaluable role in spreading word of the new organization, and day after day he distributed pamphlets and gathered signatures, many from people who had never yet visited an art exhibit.[21]

The evening at the Metropol provided a rowdy and passionate launch, and was even interrupted by indignant reproaches from former rebel Béla Pállik. The original name, *Magyar Képzőművészeti és Műpártoló Egyesület* [Hungarian Visual Arts and Art Lovers' Union], was tagged with the words *Nemzeti Szalon* [National Salon]. That tag proved far more marketable than the original collocation, and the new group quickly became known by those words. Their program was first professed in economic terms, "the protection and furtherance of common interests,"[22] and it also was intended to "guard the interests of local artists exclusively, and will only exhibit Hungarian works of art at its permanent exhibitions."[23] The goals of the organization included:

> [...] setting up a permanent art fair in Budapest; organizing exhibitions in larger towns (perhaps also abroad); reproducing original pictures and statues; raffling artistic products, so that the less prosperous part of the Hungarian public can also obtain valuable artworks at modest prices; organizing artistic parades, balls and celebrations; founding scholarships and prizes; giving financial aid and advances to assist the completion of artistic products already started; augmenting the pension for artists; furnishing an artist home, where members can gather for friendly communication.[24]

The need for a permanent art market had been a recurring theme since the previous rupture in the art market when the *OMKT* formed in opposition to the *Pesti Műegylet* in the 1860s. Most of the other proposed activities, however, were ones that the *OMKT* already did, and in a sense, that *was* the rebellion of the *Nemzeti Szalon*: not so much that it was different from the *Műcsarnok*, but rather that it was similar to its competition. In fact, most of the new insurgency's demands mirrored those of a generation earlier that led to the founding of the *OMKT*. The essence of the rebellion was its demand for expanded market capacity.

Its one significant difference was how it planned to actually present the exhibition. In its imagined incarnation the *Nemzeti Szalon* was to be more of a club, or in terminology of the period, a casino.[25]

First Exhibitions in Budapest and the Countryside

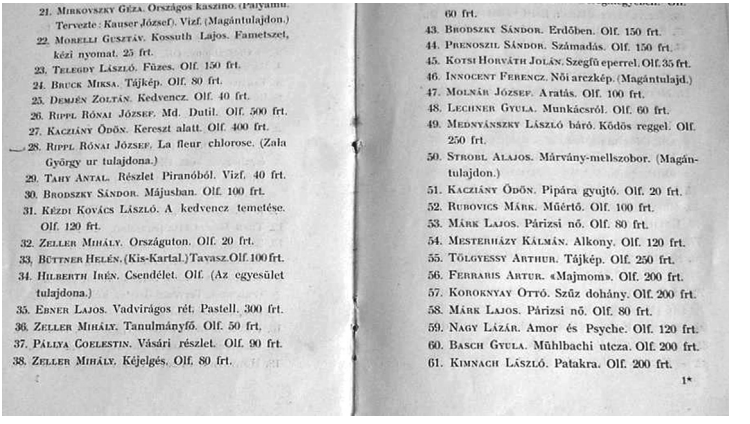
The location for the first *Nemzeti Szalon* was chosen because the new director of the organization, architect Kálmán Gerster (1850–1927), had in fact designed the building, the site of the *Baross Kávéház*, at József körút 45, and therefore devoted himself to converting the first floor into a space that combined the needs of a gallery and also those of a casino, with space for both cardplaying and dancing.[26] His Hungarian style was probably one of the earliest incarnations of an artistic trend that in time would become entwined with the Hungarian version of *art nouveau*. The opening night of the exhibition was again made a social success by the entertaining, indomitable, and inebriated personality of Mesterházy. He proved to be as good a master of ceremonies as he was an evangelist for the new salon. He also proved to be a disastrous registrar [*Műtáros*], and so the task of organizing the first countryside

Fig. 3.4. The first *Nemzeti Szalon* was held on the first floor above the *Baross Kávéház* (on the right). Source: *Budapesti Történeti Múzeum-Kiscelli Múzeum*.

Fig. 3.5. The opening of the Nemzeti Szalon on October 26, 1894. Source: László Kimnach drawing. *Budapesti Történeti Múzeum-Kiscelli Múzeum*.

exhibit in Kolozsvár in 1895 was given over to Kacziány.[27] The *Nemzeti Szalon* had succeeded quite well in garnering moral and financial support, with 973 members and 14 founding members. Adding a vital indication of even official approval, the salon was opened by the Minister of Education, Lóránd Eötvös (1848–1919).[28] Support did not, however, come in the form of brisk sales, despite the artists' intention to offer their works at discounted prices. In fact, the average price of the 166 artworks at the *Nemzeti Szalon* was 125 forints, approximately a quarter of the average price at the *OMKT*'s 1894 Spring show, which was 520 forints.[29] Using a more precise sampling, the *OMKT*'s average oil painting was priced at 661 forints; the *Nemzeti Szalon*'s was 133, or 20% of the price at the *Műcsarnok*. Still, throughout the *Szalon's* entire first year, only 8,179 forints worth of artworks were sold, though over 50,000 forints worth were shown (according to catalogue list prices). With 109 artists exhibiting, those meager sales breakdown to only 75 forints/artist. Sales declined over the next two years, to 6,131 in 1895 and to 3,846 in 1896.[30] In comparison, in 1896, the *OMKT* sold 262,112 forints worth of works. Granted, this was the year of the Millennial

Celebrations, and those sales set records for the *OMKT*, but the difference does draw attention to how minor a competitor the *Nemzeti Szalon* would have appeared to be to their more established rival in 1896. With the *Nemzeti Szalon* representing only little more than 1% of the *OMKT*'s market share, the disparity in resources at this stage was so dramatic that it is startling to consider that the two eventually would be seen as genuine competitors. Obviously, one of the keys to the *OMKT*'s big sales was their magnificent (and well-lit) new *Műcsarnok* on Heroes' Square at the entrance to the Millennial Exhibition grounds, which is today's City Park. Additionally, though, the *OMKT* had its own journal, *Műcsarnok*, the only significant art journal in the 1890s. In addition to its vastly larger market, the organization also awarded tens of thousands of forints in prize money every year.[31] The *Nemzeti Szalon* only commanded a small amount of prize money and would never rival the *OMKT* in that capacity. The two organizations' catalogues were also of vastly different quality. The *OMKT*'s catalogue was 80 pages long, with lists of works, contact details for the artists, usually 30–40 black and white reproductions, and, increasingly, paying advertisements. The *Nemzeti Szalon*'s October 1894 catalogue was a mere 10 pages long and largely just listed the artworks with their prices, and no reproductions.[32] Only with their seminal International Exhibit of 1901 would the caliber of the *Nemzeti Szalon*'s catalogues reach levels comparable to the *OMKT*.


21. Mirkovszky Géza. Országos kaszinó. (Pályamű. Tervezte: Kauser József). Vízf. (Magántulajdon.)
22. Morelli Gusztáv. Kossuth Lajos. Fametszet, kézi nyomat. 25 frt.
23. Telegdy László. Fűzes. Olf. 150 frt.
24. Brück Miksa. Tájkép. Olf. 80 frt.
25. Demén Zoltán. Kedvencz. Olf. 40 frt.
26. Rippl Rónai József. Md. Dutil. Olf. 500 frt.
27. Kacziány Ödön. Kereszt alatt. Olf. 400 frt.
28. Rippl Rónai József. La fleur chlorose. (Zala György ur tulajdona.)
29. Tahy Ántal. Részlet Piranóból. Vízf. 40 frt.
30. Brodszky Sándor. Májusban. Olf. 100 frt.
31. Kézdi Kovács László. A kedvencz temetése. Olf. 120 frt.
32. Zeller Mihály. Országuton. Olf. 20 frt.
33. Büttner Helén. (Kis-Kartal.) Tavasz. Olf. 100 frt.
34. Hilberth Irén. Csendélet. Olf. (Az egyesület tulajdona.)
35. Ebner Lajos. Vadvirágos rét. Pastell. 300 frt.
36. Zeller Mihály. Tanulmányfő. Olf. 50 frt.
37. Pállya Coelestin. Vásári részlet. Olf. 90 frt.
38. Zeller Mihály. Kéjelgés. Olf. 80 frt.

60 frt.
43. Brodszky Sándor. Erdőben. Olf. 150 frt.
44. Prenoszil Sándor. Számadás. Olf. 150 frt.
45. Kotsi Horváth Jolán. Szegfű eperrel. Olf. 35 frt.
46. Innocent Ferencz. Női arczkép. (Magántulajd.)
47. Molnár József. Aratás. Olf. 100 frt.
48. Lechner Gyula. Munkácsról. Olf. 60 frt.
49. Mednyánszky László báró. Ködös reggel. Olf. 250 frt.
50. Strobl Alajos. Márvány-mellszobor. (Magántulajdon.)
51. Kacziány Ödön. Pipára gyujtó. Olf. 20 frt.
52. Rubovics Márk. Műértő. Olf. 100 frt.
53. Márk Lajos. Párizsi nő. Olf. 80 frt.
54. Mesterházy Kálmán. Alkony. Olf. 120 frt.
55. Tölgyessy Arthur. Tájkép. Olf. 250 frt.
56. Ferraris Artur. «Majmom». Olf. 200 frt.
57. Koroknyay Ottó. Szűz dohány. Olf. 200 frt.
58. Márk Lajos. Párizsi nő. Olf. 80 frt.
59. Nagy Lázár. Amor és Psyche. Olf. 120 frt.
60. Basch Gyula. Mühlbachi utcza. Olf. 200 frt.
61. Kimnach László. Patakra. Olf. 200 frt.
1*

Fig. 3.6. Two pages from the October 1894 *Nemzeti Szalon* catalogue. No. 26, *Md. Dutil* by József Rippl-Rónai at 500 forints was the most expensive work in the show. Source: *A Nemzeti Szalon állandó műkiállításának tárgymutatója*, Catalogue, 1894 October.

Other Revolts: Hollósy School/Nagybánya, Thorma's *Martyrs of Arad*, the 1900 *Salon des Refusés*

The *Nemzeti Szalon*'s insurrection was followed by three more revolts against the *OMKT*'s authority by 1900. Each of these events formed new models and lessons about how the art market could be remade. These eruptions also paralleled neatly back to seminal rebellions that took place on the Paris art market decades earlier. While historical themes dominated the artworks at the new *Műcsarnok* during the 1896 Millennial exhibition, the acceptable parameters regarding historical topics could not include anything decidedly anti-Habsburg. János Thorma (1870–1937) violated that precept by brazenly submitting his enormous tableaux *Martyrs of Arad,* showing the Habsburg forces hanging the 13 generals who had fought for the Hungarian revolutionary government of 1848–49. This theme was obviously unacceptably provocative because Franz Josef himself was governing the victorious Austrians at that time. The *Műcsarnok* could not possibly show such a moving image of what was still an open wound to many Hungarians. Thorma rented an unused dance hall in the Orczy House, which was at the core of the old Jewish quarter at the other end of the Sugár út. His

Fig. 3.7. The Wampetics (later Gundel) restaurant located at City Park, where the public could view Thorma's painting *Martyrs of Arad*. Source: Károly Divald postcard, No. 380, c. 1896. *Budapesti Történeti Múzeum-Kiscelli Múzeum*.

act of artistic sedition proved surprisingly popular, and Thorma's self-promoted exhibition brought significant crowds.[33] Eventually, during the summer of that year, the Wampetics restaurant (today's Gundel) agreed to host the painting, which, when combined with knowledge of its rejection by the *Műcsarnok*, attracted even greater numbers and made the venture a commercial success for the restaurateur.[34] Furthermore, it was not the only spectacle painting shown to be at the edge of the exposition grounds. In a specially erected pavilion only a hundred meters away on the north side of Hősök tere sat Árpád Feszty's (1856–1914) popular 360 degree cyclorama painting *The Arrival of the Hungarians*. The site later became the location of the Fine Arts Museum in 1906. Although Thorma did garner some financial benefit from the excitement around his *Martyrs* painting, more significant financial compensation came as a result of his new-found celebrity, which brought about a reappraisal of an earlier masterpiece, *Sufferers*. That work had first been shown at the *OMKT* two years earlier and had been largely ignored. But the work subsequently toured to Paris and Munich, where it won prizes.

Fig. 3.8. Feszty's pavilion for the cyclorama of *The Arrival of the Hungarians*. Both locations, this one and the Wampetics restaurant, were only a short distance from the new *Műcsarnok*. Source: György Klösz photograph, c. 1894. *Budapesti Történeti Múzeum-Kiscelli Múzeum*.

Now displayed only a few hundred meters from *Martyrs* at the Millennium art exhibition in the new *Műcsarnok*, the painting suddenly garnered critical approval and was bought by the state for the prestigious amount of 4,000 forints.[35]

If Thorma provided a powerful example of the financial rewards that could come from venturing out alone, then the *Visszautasítottak Szalonja* [literally *Salon des Refusés*] of 1900 showed the peril of ridicule that lay in opposing the hegemonic powers. Indeed, 1900 was an explosive year for all institutions, as a crisis over hanging space had again reached the boiling point, and again an over-supplied market erupted

Exhibition	Total works, including Hungarian and foreign	5-year average of works exhibited per exhibition
OMKT 1890 Winter	445	
OMKT 1891–92 Winter	550	
OMKT 1892–93 Winter	527	
OMKT 1893–94 Winter	443	
OMKT 1894 Spring	329	
OMKT 1894–95 Winter	355	
OMKT 1895 Winter	311	5-year average for 1890–5: 422
OMKT 1896 Millenium	1276	
OMKT 1897 Spring	388	
OMKT 1897–98 Winter	329	
OMKT 1898 Spring	638	
OMKT 1898–99 Winter	351	
OMKT 1899 Spring	595	
OMKT 1899–1900 Winter	485	
OMKT 1900 Spring	268	
OMKT 1900–01 Winter	651	
OMKT 1901 Spring	499	
OMKT 1901–02 Winter	563	
OMKT 1902 International	583	5-year average for 1897–1902: 533

Table 3.3. Total number of works displayed at the OMKT exhibitions, 1890–1902. Source: *OMKT* catalogues 1890–1902.

in revolt at the constrained possibilities provided by the *OMKT*. The new *Műcsarnok* building should have represented a massive increase in capacity over the old building. At its inaugural salon, for the 1896 Millennium celebrations, the building housed 1,276 works.[36] Artists were then deeply disappointed when the 1897 Spring exhibition presenting only 388 works, with a large percentage of those, 163 (42%), being foreign pieces. In an attempt to soothe the outrage, the subsequent 1897–98 Winter salon was Hungarian-only, but it showed only 321 works. In fact, much of the initial revival of interest in the *Nemzeti Szalon* after the moribund year 1896 (3,846 forints in sales) had to do with the *OMKT*'s unwillingness to exploit the new *Műcsarnok*'s full capacity. In fact, in 1897, the first year of normal operation, the average number of slots for Hungarian painters at the *Műcsarnok* actually declined from the number at the old *Műcsarnok*, from 278 to 273. The *OMKT*'s misstep in this one year alone was enough to reinvigorate an institution that had been left for dead only a year earlier. The *OMKT*'s 1898 Spring show would have appeared to be an improvement, with 638 works shown, but 270 of those were by the Czech Alfons Mucha (1860–1939) alone, the remaining 368 spots represented no improvement over previous years. By the final two years of the century, the *OMKT* appeared to be making conciliatory efforts to increase the number of places in the salon but then resorted back to pre-estab-

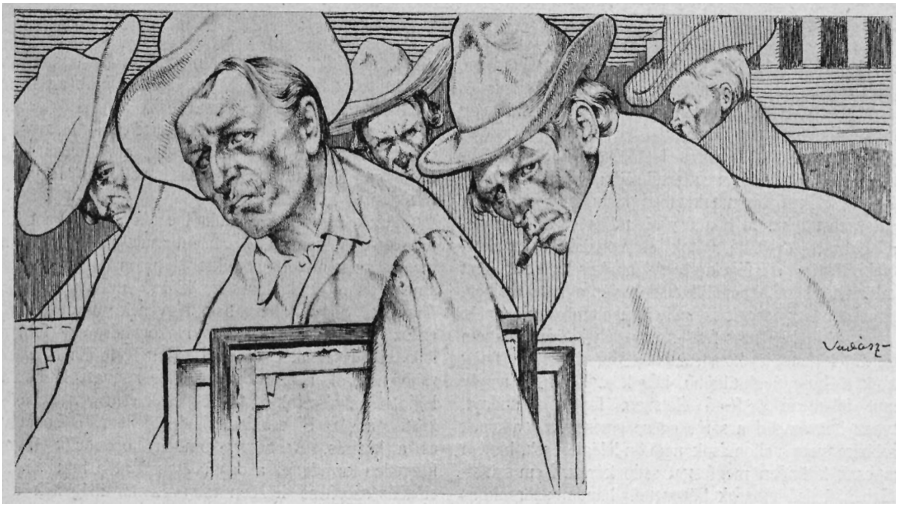


Fig. 3.9. Miklós Vadász (1881–1927), *Artists bringing paintings to the Műcsarnok*. Source: *Uj Idők*, 1903, vol. IX, no. 12, 253.

lished ideas of the ideal market size, or approximately 270 Hungarian works per exhibition, as was the case with the Spring 1900 show (268 works, but all Hungarian). The market constriction tactic proved to be of little use. Only 20% of the paintings shown at that salon sold, and those only for a meager 29,790 korona, or about 15% of the total value represented by the paintings offered for sale.[37] Finally, the 1900–01 Winter salon promised to offer that great expansion of hanging capacity, with 651 works, all of them Hungarian. But the jury for the show managed only to exacerbate the simmering tension between the labor aristocracy of established artists and the rapidly expanding artist proletariat. A large number of painters were allowed to hang significant numbers of works, some of them up to eight pieces or more, including

Fig. 3.10. Károly Mülbeck, *The Műcsarnok does not send carts*. It shows artists hauling their works to the *Műcsarnok* themselves, which would be a familiar site on the Sugárút in the weeks preceding the jurying. Source: *Uj Idők,* 1910, vol. XVI, no. 12, 279.

the leading representatives of the *Nagybánya* group. The enormous interest in exhibiting at the show also attracted record numbers of submissions and rejections. Over 600 submitted works were rejected, or, essentially every other submission was returned.[38] The desperation of struggling artists never seemed more acute. The *Nemzeti Szalon* was providing little respite at this time, as they had followed a similar strategy of giving certain painters the opportunity to show ten or more works.[39] To the *Nemzeti Szalon*'s credit, they did show a landscape by Tivadar Csontváry in that year, which would be the only time that artist showed work collectively in Hungary.[40] By 1900, nearly 400 painters could be estimated to be working in Hungary,[41] but only 150 were able to show at the *Műcsarnok* and 75 artists placed works at the *Nemzeti Szalon*.[42] The rejected artists took inspiration from the example of the *refusés* from the Paris Salon of 1863, and 50 of them decided to stage their own *Salon des Refusés*, at the newly built Klotild Palace,

Fig. 3.11. Klotild Palace, on the right, site of the *Visszautasítottak Szalonja* in 1900. Source: *Budapesti Történeti Múzeum-Kiscelli Múzeum*.

in a gallery located on the Váci utca entrance. The *Refusés* printed an illustrated catalogue that included some art nouveau graphics as well as pointed caricatures of the *OMKT*'s jury. The introductory text proclaimed: "we protest with no-one and against no-one. We recognize neither castes nor cliques in art."[43] The exhibition was brutalized in the press, with *Budapesti Hírlap*, *Magyar Hírlap*, *Egyetértés*, *Pesti Napló*, *Pesti Hírlap*, and *Magyarország* all writing highly negative reviews of the show.[44] A number of reviewers asked jokingly why, with 600 rejected works, the exhibition contained only 125. The obvious irony being highlighted was that the rejected painters had themselves formed an exclusionary jury. Once the newspapers had formed a consensual opinion, *Műcsarnok,* still the official journal of the *OMKT* gathered the clippings and prefaced them with an articulate deconstruction of the show:

> Now who are these *refusés*? Perhaps fighters for some new direction? Or some cast-aside geniuses? No. With one or two exceptions, the *Salon des Refusés* is a gathering point for talentless people. [...] The whole thing simply displays an ignorance of art.[45]

The author, István Dömötör, writing under the pen name Donatello, also adds that the show might have been comparable to the early

Fig. 3.12. Cover and first page of the 1900 *Salon des Refusés*. The artist's head rests on a platter, like that of John the Baptist. Source: *A Visszautasítottak Szalonja*, Catalogue, 1900.

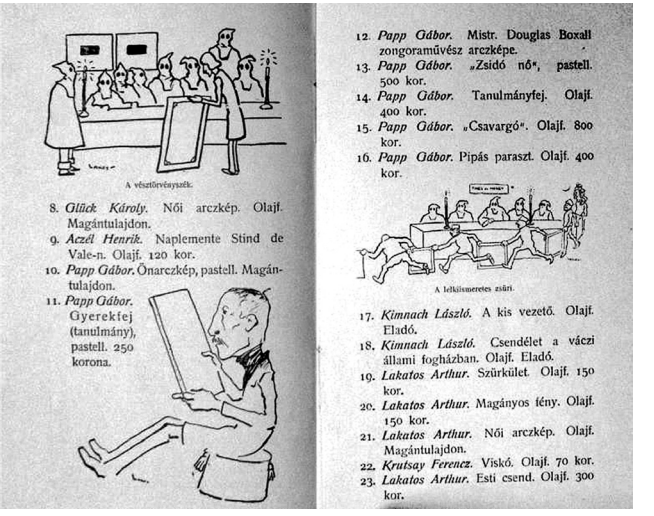


Fig. 3.13. Pages from the catalogue of the *Salon des Refusés* containing caricatures mocking the O*MKT*'s selection jury, done by Alfréd Lakos (1870–1961).The one on the upper left, *The Tribunal*, portrays the jury as the Inquisition, and that on the right, *The Conscientious Jury*, mocks the brief attention given to the submitted works with the overheard motto: "TIME IS MONEY." Source: *A Visszautasítottak Szalonja*, Catalogue, 1900.

Nemzeti Szalon in its lack of quality, but he adds that now the *Nemzeti Szalon* also makes use of a jury and has consequently raised its overall standard as well. Dömötör's wholesale dismissal of the artists largely held true, as only a couple of them ever made much of a career painting. It should also be noted, however, that the *Visszautasítottak Szalonja* also included two works by Hugo Scheiber, whose mature paintings in the 1920s and 30s were promoted by Herwarth Walden and his *Der Sturm* gallery in Berlin. By the end of the twentieth century, Scheiber was well on his way to being one of the most admired of all Hungarian artists by the wider world market, and consequently examples of his oeuvre are among the best selling on today's secondary art market. The lesson, though, that these painters would take away from their drubbing in the papers was that an exhibition cannot simply be framed in terms of rejection of a hegemonic system. The example of the most successful walkout, that of the Nagybánya painters, showed that resistance only on economic terms is inadequate and needs to be framed in aesthetic terms in order to achieve long-term viability.

Thorma's success with his self-promoted exhibition in 1896 had inspired his colleagues, who that summer travelled to the Transylvanian town of Nagybánya, led by their Munich-based teacher Simon Hollósy, in order to practice *plein air* painting in the manner of Barbizon artists. Following a productive summer, the group, known then as the Hollósy School, was invited by Minister for Education and Religion Baron Gyula Wlassics (1852–1937) to exhibit at the 1897–98 Winter *Műcsarnok*, and Hollósy requested a full three rooms (a quarter of the building's rooms) in which to show their work. The leadership of the *OMKT* rejected that idea out of hand, referring to the paragraph in the regulations of the 1897 Winter salon that clearly specified that only Hungarian painters will be exhibited at that exhibition. Since Hollósy's students included numerous foreigners, showing the group as a whole would violate the statutes of the salon.[46] The Nagybánya group, in fact, suspected that the *OMKT* was simply aghast that "countryside painters" might be allowed to exhibit as an isolated group within the salon.[47] When the official *Műcsarnok* was denied to them, Minister Wlassics offered Hollósy the use of the old *Műcsarnok*, which was now otherwise going un-used. A 4-page catalogue was printed for the opening on December 15, 1897.

Fig. 3.14. The cover of the 1897 catalogue featured Károly Ferenczy's Nabis-like illustration of *plein air* painters. Source: *A nagybányai festők kiállitása katalógus,* Catalogue, 1897.

Fifty-four of the 202 exhibited works were illustrations for a collection of József Kiss's (1843–1921) poetry. While the illustrations, done by five different artists, were being set at the printers, Révai & Tsa., an editor for the journal *Magyar Géniusz* (also printed by Révai) saw them displayed and found them a revelation. The editor, a highly secularized Catholic priest named János Hock (1859–1936), published a messianic article, "*Nagybánya – Előre*" [Nagybánya—Forward], in the newspaper *Magyarország* prior the opening, providing crucial advance publicity for the exhibition.[48] In the article, he essentially anointed the exhibitors as heralding the re-birth of Hungarian art.[49] Furthermore, the show found favor with a new cadre of articulate and passionate critics, thus essentially launching the career of Károly Lyka (1869– 1965), the great defender and proponent of the group. The historian of the Nagybánya School (as he came to be known), István Réti (1872–1945), recalled that the show was also a financial success.[50]

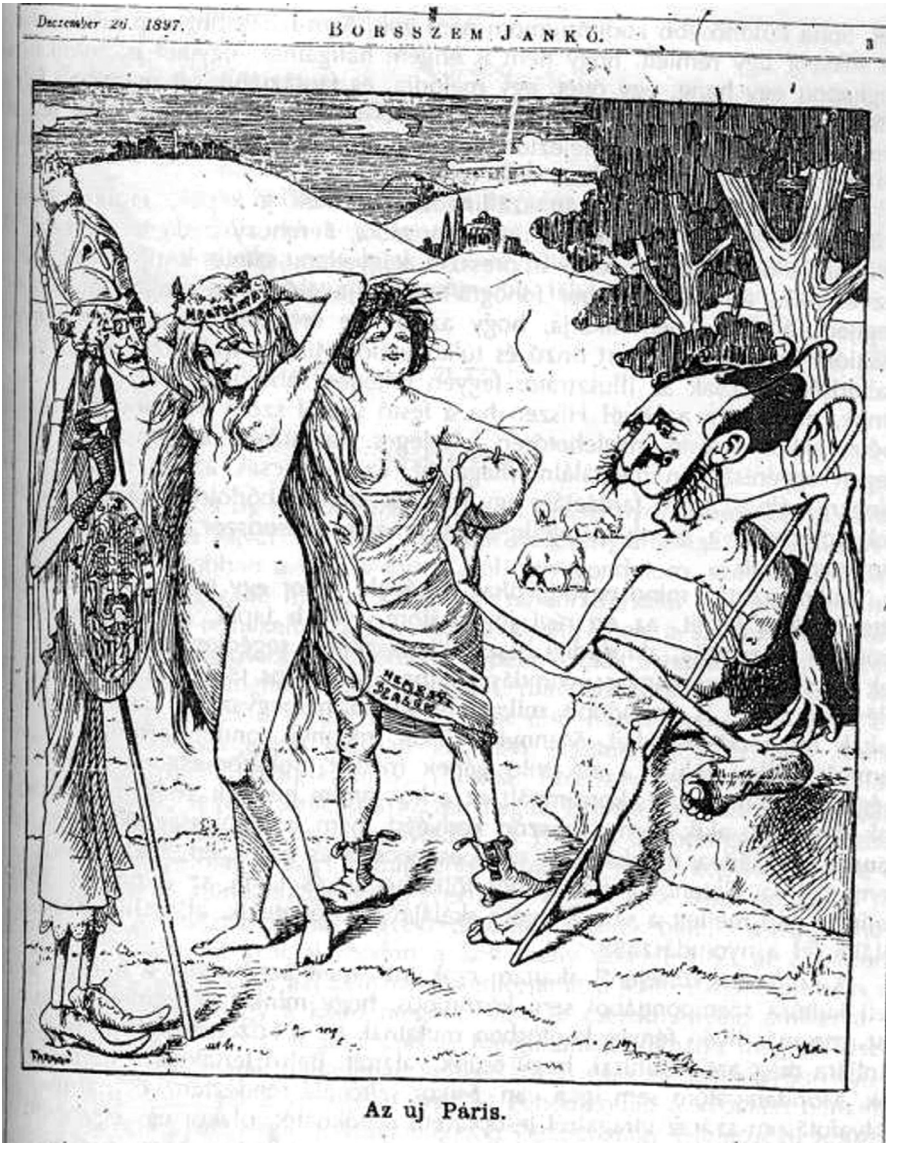


Fig. 3.15. This caricature shows the Minister Wlassics as the new Paris, who must decide between the shriveled *OMKT* as Athena, the matronly *Nemzeti Szalon* as Hera and the voluptuous Nagybánya School as Aphrodite. Source: "Az uj Páris," *Borszem Jankó,* December 26, 1897, 3.

Fig. 3.16. Caricature mocking particular painting styles and showing the Nagybánya painter [upper right] freezing in the *plein air*. Source: *Magyar Figaro*, December 1897, 4.

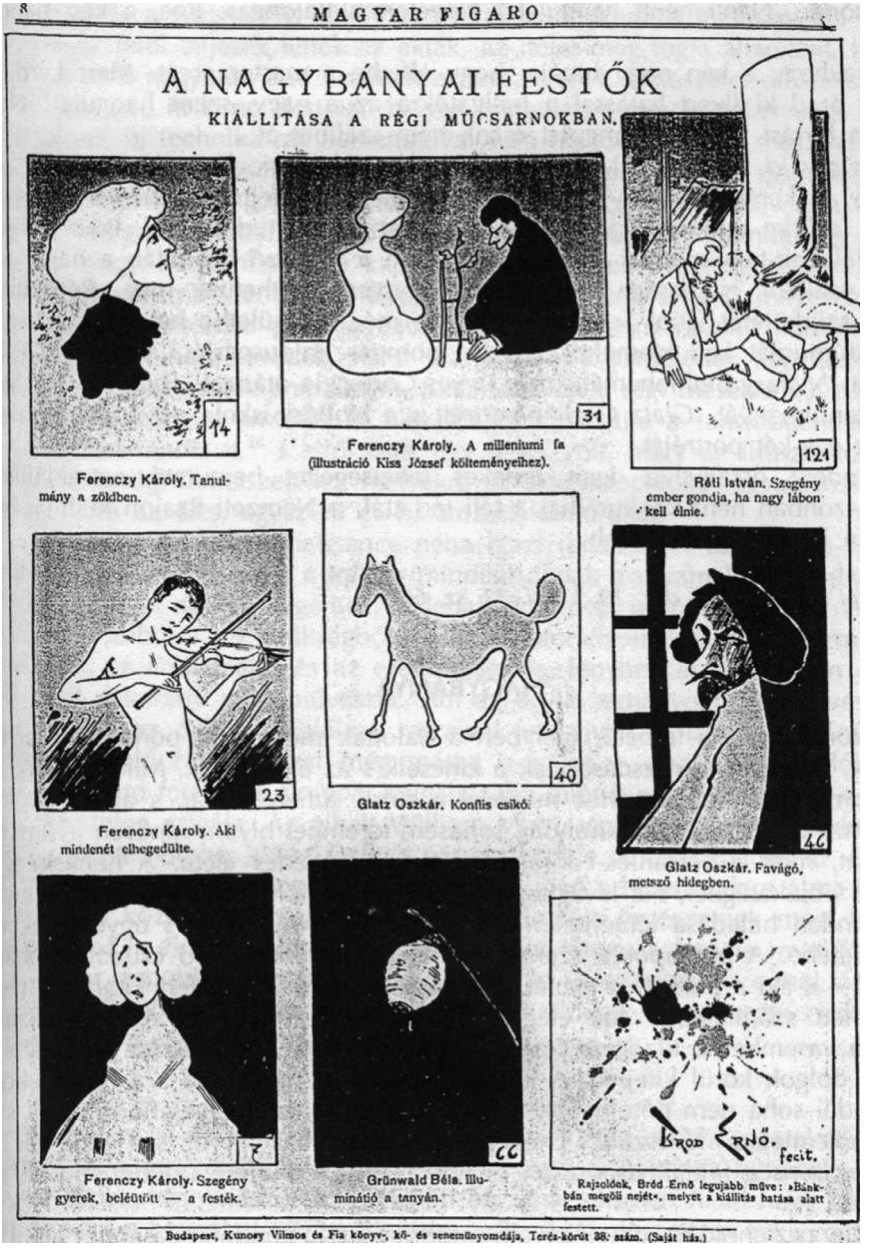


Fig. 3.17. A caricature of the works exhibited at the Nagybánya 1897 exhibition. The work in the lower right resembling a Jackson Pollock is reported to have been done under the influence of the exhibition. Source: *Magyar Figaro*, December 1897, 8.

Pricing for the works was highly variable, offering a combination of lower priced works (60–80 forints) but with most of the painters also exhibiting at least one work with a price of over 1,000 forints. If the first lesson taught by the Nagybánya show was that art must be exhibited with an agenda, its second lesson was that a few high prices are necessary to insure a rising market for their works. Not all publicity for the exhibit was positive, however. A caricature from *Magyar Figaro* poked fun at the *plein air* technique of immediate impression by showing something like a Jackson Pollock drip-painting by a fictive painter and indicating that it represented his interpretation of a Hungarian historical theme while under the influence of the exhibition [See Figure 3.17].

By this point, the Nagybánya group was beginning to appear to be a third competitor in the field of salons, and was portrayed as such by one contemporary caricature [See Figure 3.15]. The group did not become a rival to other salons, however, because instead, Hock deftly persuaded Hollósy that its home was in the *Nemzeti Szalon*.

How the Hock Affair Defined the Future of the Art Market.

The following year, 1898, saw more eruptions in the art business, much of which had to do with the explosive personality of Hock, whose *modus operandi* was much more in the spirit of Savonarola than of St. Francis of Assisi. He took an inquisitor's approach to reforming the Hungarian art world, and the heretics, to his mind, were the *OMKT*'s leadership, the *Mintarajziskola*, and the *Mesteriskola*, with its head, Gyula Benczúr, as the anti-Christ.

In March 1898, Hock rose in the general assembly of the *OMKT* and delivered a vitriolic speech on how cliques and favoritism [*protectió*] were preventing the development of Hungarian art.[51] He also made speeches in parliament, of which, in addition to being a collar-wearing priest, he also

Fig. 3.18. Portrait photograph of János Hock from the catalogue of the 1901 *Nemzeti Szalon* International Exhibition. Source: *Kalauz és képes tárgymutató a Nemzeti Szalon nemzetközi kiállitására,* Catalogue, 1901.

Fig. 3.19. Cover of *Művészi reform* by János Hock. Source: János Hock *Művészi reform* (Budapest: Singer and Wolfner, 1898).

served as a member. Hock raised an even greater uproar when he published *Művészi reform* [Art Reform]. The book laid out the case for art reform in medical terms, describing the sickness caused by the above mentioned heretics, and the treatment. Hock's book did a far better job of identifying his enemies than of actually describing in real and precise terms what the alternative should be. He criticized the *Mintarajziskola* for not drawing from live models and the *Mesteriskola* for being badly designed and poorly lit. If he had an aesthetic agenda, it was a naturalist one that emphasized working from nature, especially live models. This agenda could hardly be described as revolutionary. What *Művészi reform* did succeed in doing, though, was to divide the art world into two opposing camps, essentially pro- and anti-*OMKT.* In Hock's mind, one could not be a proponent of artistic revival and be pro-*OMKT.* Hollósy signaled his school's support with a long letter in a fire-and-brimstone voice similar to Hock's own writing.[52] The priest's powerful will and increasing prominence proved to be a lifeline to the *Nemzeti Szalon*, which invited him to be its president that same year. His first exhibitions were considered triumphs of superior professionalism and taste over the earlier shows by the group.[53] Hock and Hollósy also forged a close bond, which would be the first step towards binding the two institutions in a symbiotic relationship, with the *Nemzeti Szalon* providing logistics and venue and Nagybánya providing an esthetic agenda.

The initial praise that Hock had garnered, though, quickly turned to criticism and even open rebellion by 1900. Throughout that year,

Hock proved increasingly difficult to work with. The director of the *Országos Képtár* [National Picture Gallery], Gábor Térey (1864–1927), published a letter in *Műcsarnok* denying that he had been involved in the preparations for the *Nemzeti Szalon*'s international graphics exhibition. He did so in order to dismiss press reports (put out by Hock) that continually associated that show with his name.[54] Hock's with-me or against-me attitude increasingly began to irritate artists who, although they may have strongly disliked the *OMKT*'s leadership, could not afford to ignore its vastly greater market share and obviously superior resources. The dispute became particularly pronounced when the leading painters of the Nagybánya group, particularly Béla Iványi-Grünwald (1867–1940), István Csók (1865–1961), and Ferenczy, chose to exhibit at the *Műcsarnok* that year, and not at the *Nemzeti Szalon* with the Hollósy School and Hollósy's less-established student painters. This division signaled the end of the first period of Nagybánya's development and, most importantly, Hollósy's withdrawal to form his own school in another town, Técső.

By early January 1901, the artists who had been long-term members of the *Nemzeti Szalon* were also leaving *en masse*, and the extremely prestigious portrait painter Fülöp László (1869–1937), who was probably the most successful living painter after Munkácsy's death, resigned from his position as honorary president to protest Hock's leadership.[55] Ironically, this fatal crisis for Hock coincided with what was to have been his crowning achievement, the impressive 1901 International Exhibition. For the first time, the *Nemzeti Szalon* demonstrated that it could compete on a par with the *OMKT* in the realm of professionalism. The catalogue represented a quantum leap forward, and in many ways the publication surpassed the *OMKT*'s. It was 146 pages long, with 23 full-page reproductions and nearly 100 pages devoted to biographies of the foreign painters whose works were being exhibited. Furthermore, most of the artists' bios were accompanied by small inset black and white photographic portraits. The quality of the printing was a tour-de-force achievement for the firm Révai és Salamon, which would now surpass its rival, Wolfner és Singer (printers of the *OMKT* catalogs), in art printing and come to dominate the field through their subsidiary, the *Könyves Kálmán Műintézet* [see Chapter 4].

The author of the catalog's biographies, Ferenc Szikszay (1871–1908), had been writing dispatches from Paris for the Hungarian newspapers, particularly *Magyarország,* for a number of years, an activity

that had allowed him to support himself as a painter in that city and serve as a go-between between the art capital of Europe and his home market. The role was not an uncommon one for painters to pursue, and it also provided a ready opportunity to reward friends and savage enemies. Szikszay, for example, attacked his fellow up-and-coming Hungarian in Paris, József Rippl-Rónai (1861–1927), when the latter held a solo exhibition at Siegfried Bing's (1838–1905) Art Nouveu gallery in 1897, mocking him for the fact that paintings were displayed on chairs and even on the floor.[56] Szikszay had trained at the Julian Academy in the early 1890s,[57] and the precocious artist's earliest collector was Hock, who had acquired an ink painting done when the artist was 15.[58] Hock increasingly became Szikszay's patron and promoted his career while also adding to his own collection. For example, at the conclusion of his seminal "*Nagybánya—Előre*" article, Hock took the opportunity to mention some other young artists (who were not part of the exhibition) and then praised Szikszay in gushing terms.[59] The years 1898 and 1899 marked the artist's arrival, when his works were bought by the powerful and influential (probably persuaded by Hock), among them Minister Wlassics and Count Andrássy.[60] By the end of 1899, he was being described thus: "the first-rank favorite of the *Szalon*… has achieved the hopes he's been charged with."[61] By 1900 he had earned the immensely precocious distinction (at age 29) of inclusion in the Hungarian pavilion at the 1900 Paris World Exhibition, where his *Spring Tale* earned a third place prize.[62] At that time, he had the seemingly fortunate opportunity to meet Gabriel Mourey (1865–1943), the Paris art critic for the most influential English-language art journal in the world, *The Studio.* According to Mourey's account of this meeting, he had been charged with writing a guide to the English and Hungarian collections at the 1900 World Exhibition for a publisher called *Societé d'Editions Artistique*, and encountered the young painter (to whom he had been introduced once before by an art dealer) in the Hungarian pavilion and asked his assistance in familiarizing himself with Hungarian art.[63] Before the publication could be printed, though, the publisher went bankrupt. Claiming he now had nowhere to publish his article, Mourey offered it to the leading Hungarian newspaper, *Pesti Hírlap*. The article, however, makes no mention of its failed original intention, and in fact, its introduction portrays it as a widely circulated commentary:

> Gabriel Mourey, an editor and art critic for the world's most widely published art journal, *The Studio*. Along with the English journal, his work is published in French and seen monthly by over a million readers. [...] This famous art critic and editor has, currently being printed, a book covering all the art of all the nations which exhibited at the World Exposition. [...] Here we have reported this interesting literary delicacy word-for-word, as this independent foreign critic has evaluated our art.[64]

This strategy would recur frequently in the pages of *Pesti Hírlap*, and it brings up a third name, one that never appeared directly in the conflict but its bearer's role was betrayed both by the tactic and because he was responsible for art criticism at the paper and surely authored the short introduction to Mourey's five and half print columns-long review. The painter László Kézdi-Kovács had been the *Pesti Hírlap* art critic since 1893 and also a committed Hock loyalist. One of his first acts as critic was to publicize the formation of the *Nemzeti Szalon* in 1894.[65] He earned a silver medal in Paris in 1900,[66] though the Mourey article failed to mention it, which might have been a veiled attempt to appear neutral. In the article, Mourey offers a summary conflation of the artistic politics prevailing in Hungary, which sets up the polarity of Benczúr (the representative of old, official art) vs. Hock, who is described as "a first rank preacher and exceptionally popular throughout Hungary, who passionately leads the fight against German influences in the interest of the French, which he sees a more appropriate expression of Hungary's own struggle for freedom and self-expression."[67] As for Benczúr's works shown at the exhibition (including the massive *Retaking of Buda Castle from the Turks, 1686*), Mourey wrote: "His three canvases are entirely lacking in life. The forms look as if cast in wax ... Horribly stiff, dry, gloomy, and conventional. Really quite mediocre."[68] In general, he dismissed the artists associated with the *OMKT*: Ferenc [Franz] Eisenhut (1857–1903), Pállik, Karlovszky, János Vaszary (1867–1938), and Gusztáv Kelety (1832–1902). He praised *Nemzeti Szalon* artists almost exclusively: Szinyei, Kacziány, Bertalan Székely (1835–1910), Nándor Katona (1864–1932), Adolf Fényes (1867–1945), and especially Szikszay. About the latter he wrote: " ... soft tones and with exceptional refinement ... A dream on the sense of nature, somewhat elegiac. [...] Refinement, honesty, delicate, I see qualities that promise a highly original individual for Hungarian art."[69]

The cataclysmic mistake, though, in all this carefully orchestrated propaganda by Hock, Szikszay, Kézdi-Kovács, and Mourey, was that they did not anticipate Fülöp László's elevation to honorary president of the *Nemzeti Szalon*, and the article directly criticized László and his *Portrait of Pope Leo XIII.* The painting was described as "a perfect example of official painting, whose portrait exterior shows the exterior ... but we seek in vain for any sign of his soul."[70] In Mourey's own short

Constantin Korovine, a young artist of St. Petersburg. In the hall of *Central Asia* M. Korovine has painted a series of panels, of which we now give reproductions. They represent landscapes and monuments of Samarkand. Elsewhere, as in the *salles* of the *Far North* and *Siberia*, he had treated in admirable fashion, in a number of conventionally coloured friezes, the picturesque scenes of the septentrional lands, with the midnight sun, the fishing villages, the otters, the virgin forests of Siberia, the shores of the Yenissei and the Polar Sea, and the Isles of Commandor. Herein, M.

M. Adolf Fenyes' stirring picture, *La Famille*, in the Hungarian section, is attracting a great deal of attention. It is a sober work, broadly and originally conceived and executed, and full of real strength. So life-like are the types depicted that one feels bound to congratulate the artist on having turned his gaze on the life around him instead of being content to follow the brilliant principles of the Schools and the Academies. M. Fenyes' fine canvas is one of the best things in the Hungarian section of the Grand Palais. Striking work is also

"CONTE DE PRINTEMPS" BY FERI DE SZIKSZAY

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Fig. 3.20. From *The Studio*'s coverage of the 1900 Paris World Exhibition, showing Ferenc Szikszay's *Spring Tale*, which won a bronze medal. Source: "Studio Talk," *The Studio*, September 1900, vol. XX, no. 90, 274.

they are cheerless places with cold, white-washed walls. What they need is "the charity of rich bright colours." No doubt, if all their windows were made beautiful with pictures in stained glass, the light would be too dim, and the children's eyes would suffer; but these effects would not be produced if every class-room had one of its windows decorated with clever and amusing designs, like those by Miss Brickdale.

———

As an artist in pen-and-ink Miss Brickdale is already known to readers of THE STUDIO. Her work in this medium has still a good deal to gain both in variety of tone and in suppleness of line; but it is touched with dramatic feeling, and is thoughtful, strong, and distinguished. It is represented here this month by two clever illustrations to an old ballad, "The Twa Sisters o' Binnorie." Many renderings exist of this narrative song, as the reader will find by turning to the versions given by Jamieson, Pinkerton, and Scott. The story relates how a knight loved two sisters:—

He gied the eldest a gay gowd ring,
But he lo'ed the youngest aboon a' thing.

So the eldest, giving way to her jealousy, took her sister to the river-strand, and pushed her in:—

First she sank, and then she swam,
Until she cam' to Tweed mill-dam.

Here the miller's daughter—in one version it is the miller's son—saw her:—

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"LA FAMILLE" BY ADOLF FENYES

(See Paris Studio-Talk)

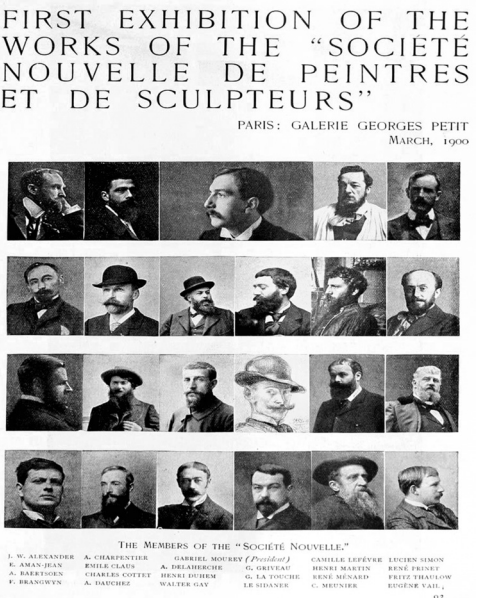
Fig. 3.21. Adolf Fényes, *The Family,* reproduced in *The Studio*'s coverage of the 1900 Paris World Exhibition. Source: "Paris Studio Talk," *The Studio,* October 1900, vol. XXI, no. 91, 134.

passages on the Hungarian collection, in the section in *The Studio* called "Studio Talk" (where exhibitions around the world were briefly critiqued), two months later, he made a minor gesture to make amends by including a sketch of László's *Portrait of Pope Leo XIII* and included a short line of praise for it.[71] Otherwise, the only other mention he made of Hungarian painters in *The Studio* review was to offer additional effusive adulation for Szikszay and some fine words for Adolf Fényes. Both received the greatest acknowledgement in the form of the reproduction of one of their works.[72] The *Pesti Hírlap* article caused an immediate uproar in the Budapest art world, with suspicion being focused immediately on Hock and his protégé Szikszay for having engineered the

Fig. 3.22. Fülöp László, *Sketch for the Portrait of Leo XIII*. The reproduction here did little to soothe László's or the greater Hungarian art world's outrage at Mouray's comments in the *Pesti Hírlap* article. Source: "Paris Studio Talk," *The Studio*, September 1900, vol. XX, no. 90, 271.

article specifically in order to verify their own preferences through the authoritative figure of an esteemed foreign art critic. At the same time, Mourey had already entered into a business venture for which he was seeking a market. In March 1900, he had formed (with himself as president) the *Société Nouvelle de Peintres et de Sculpteurs* and staged their opening exhibition at the *Galerie Georges Petit*.[73] Hock's *Nemzeti Szalon* appeared to be the ideal venue, then, for a travelling exhibition for the new *Société*, and the ready-made package of artists was perfect for an institution that was trying to prove its international standing against its more established rival. Ignácz Ujváry, writing in the *OMKT*'s official journal *Műcsarnok*, alleged that the *Pesti Hírlap* critique and the exhibition were part of a quid-pro-quo arrangement between Hock and Mourey, and that the latter would receive up to 30% commission on the sales.[74] Thus, the *Nemzeti Szalon*'s International Exhibition essentially opened in the very midst of a crisis that threatened the institution's total collapse. Although Mourey was described in the *OMKT*'s journal as an ultramodernist who wrote for an ultramodern

Fig. 3.23. Portrait photograph of Gabriel Mourey, correspondent for *The Studio* and also president of the *Société Nouvelle de Peintres et de Sculpteurs*, taken from the catalogue of the 1901 *Nemzeti Szalon* International Exhibition. Source: *Kalauz és képes tárgymutató a Nemzeti Szalon nemzetközi kiállitására,* Catalogue, 1901.


FIRST EXHIBITION OF THE WORKS OF THE "SOCIÉTÉ NOUVELLE DE PEINTRES ET DE SCULPTEURS"

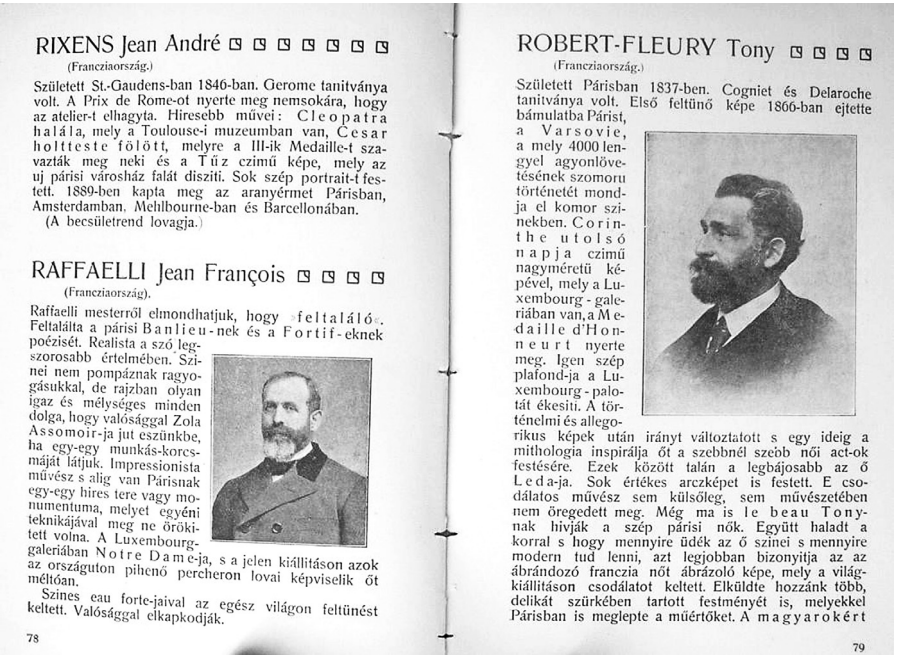
PARIS: GALERIE GEORGES PETIT
MARCH, 1900

THE MEMBERS OF THE "SOCIÉTÉ NOUVELLE."

J. W. ALEXANDER, E. AMAN-JEAN, A. BAERTSOEN, F. BRANGWYN, A. CHARPENTIER, EMILE CLAUS, CHARLES COTTET, A. DAUCHEZ, GABRIEL MOUREY (*President*), A. DELAHERCHE, HENRI DUHEM, WALTER GAY, G. GRIVEAU, G. LA TOUCHE, LE SIDANER, CAMILLE LEFÈVRE, HENRI MARTIN, RENÉ MÉNARD, C. MEUNIER, LUCIEN SIMON, RENÉ PRINET, FRITZ THAULOW, EUGÈNE VAIL.

Fig. 3.24. Announcement in *The Studio* publicizing the formation of the *Société Nouvelle de Peintres et de Sculpteurs* and promoting its first show at the *Galerie Georges Petit*. Source: *The Studio*, March 1900, vol. XIX, no. 84, 93.

journal,[75] in fact, the *Szalon*'s selection of artists fell far outside the canonical tract of French Modernism. In the year since founding the society, Mourey had managed to achieve some star billing by bringing in works of the now-deceased Puvis de Chavannes (1824–98), but the remaining names in the catalogue read like a "Who's Who" of official salon academic painting: Jules Breton (1827–1906), Tony Robert-Fleurry (1837–1912), Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824–1904). A couple of Germans, Franz Stuck (1863–1928) and Franz Lenbach (1836–1904), allowed the show to claim to be international, but the foreign stock was otherwise exclusively French. A select group of Hock's favored Hungarian artists was integrated into the collection: Ödön Kacziány, Márk Rubovics (1867–1947), Bertalan Székely, Nándor Katona, and of course Szikszay. Altogether only 13 Hungarian artists were deemed worthy to be exhibited among their esteemed French contemporaries,[76] and to the *Nemzeti Szalon*'s numerous members who were excluded from this show of unparalleled importance, it could easily have seemed that Hock and Szikszay had reproduced the *OMKT*'s tendency towards cliques and *protekció* [favoritism]. Among the developments that would lead to that impression, the catalogue listed a number of these privileged exhibiting members as *sociétaires* [*törzstag*], indicating that they were now permanent members of the *Nemzeti Szalon*.[77] The 1900 Winter *Nemzeti Szalon,* which was a typical collective exhibition, demonstrated that certain favored members were occupying a disproportionate amount of the wall space. The catalogue shows that Celestin Pállya (1864–1948) displayed 22 works, Gusztáv Magyar-Mannheimer (1859–1937) 12 works, and Szikszay showed 13—bearing in mind that the total



RIXENS Jean André

(Franczia ország.)

Született St.-Gaudens-ban 1846-ban. Gerome tanitványa volt. A Prix de Rome-ot nyerte meg nemsokára, hogy az atelier-t elhagyta. Hiresebb művei: Cleopatra halála, mely a Toulouse-i muzeumban van, Cesar holtteste fölött, melyre a III-ik Medaille-t szavazták meg neki és a Tűz czimű képe, mely az uj párisi városház falát disziti. Sok szép portrait-t festett. 1889-ben kapta meg az aranyérmet Párisban, Amsterdamban, Mehlbourne-ban és Barcellonában.

(A becsületrend lovagja.)

RAFFAELLI Jean François

(Franczia ország).

Raffaelli mesterről elmondhatjuk, hogy »feltaláló«. Feltalálta a párisi Banlieu-nek és a Fortif-eknek poézisét. Realista a szó legszorosabb értelmében. Szinei nem pompáznak ragyogásukkal, de rajzban olyan igaz és mélységes minden dolga, hogy valósággal Zola Assomoir-ja jut eszünkbe, ha egy-egy munkás-korcsmáját látjuk. Impressionista művész s alig van Párisnak egy-egy hires tere vagy monumentuma, melyet egyéni teknikájával meg ne örökitett volna. A Luxembourg-galeriában Notre Dame-ja, s a jelen kiállitáson azok az országuton pihenő percheron lovai képviselik őt méltóan.

Szines eau forte-jaival az egész világon feltünést keltett. Valósággal elkapkodják.

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ROBERT-FLEURY Tony

(Franczia ország.)

Született Párisban 1837-ben. Cogniet és Delaroche tanitványa volt. Első feltűnő képe 1866-ban ejtette bámulatba Párist, a Varsovie, a mely 4000 lengyel agyonlövetésének szomoru történetét mondja el komor szinekben. Corinthe utolsó napja czimű nagyméretü képével, mely a Luxembourg-galeriában van, a Medaille d'Honneurt nyerte meg. Igen szép plafond-ja a Luxembourg-palotát ékesiti. A történelmi és allegorikus képek után irányt változtatott s egy ideig a mithologia inspirálja őt a szebbnél szebb női act-ok festésére. Ezek között talán a legbájosabb az ő Leda-ja. Sok értékes arczképet is festett. E csodálatos művész sem külsőleg, sem művészetében nem öregedett meg. Még ma is le beau Tonynak hivják a szép párisi nők. Együtt haladt a korral s hogy mennyire űdék az ő szinei s mennyire modern tud lenni, azt legjobban bizonyitja az az ábrándozó franczia nőt ábrázoló képe, mely a világkiállitáson csodálatot keltett. Elküldte hozzánk több, delikát szürkében tartott festményét is, melyekkel Párisban is meglepte a műértőket. A magyarokért

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Fig. 3.25. A page of the extensive artists' biographies in the 1901 *Nemzeti Szalon* International Exhibition catalogue. It was the first catalogue in Hungary to have photograph portraits of the exhibitors. Source: *Kalauz és képes tárgymutató a Nemzeti Szalon nemzetközi kiállítására,* Catalogue, 1901.

number of lots was only 188. Szikszay also had the very rare distinction of having *two* of his paintings reproduced among the 15 reproductions at the back of the catalogue.[78]

OMKT members widely suspected that Hock and Szikszay had directly influenced the Mourey article. *Műcsarnok* published a lead article on the scandalous triumvirate of Hock, Szikszay, and Mourey that detailed their connivance to degrade the Hungarian works shown in Paris and also insinuated that Mourey would personally receive a generous percentage from the sale of all the artworks sold at the exhibition.[79] The next week Hock responded in *Műcsarnok* with a furious retort,[80] and Mourey brought a lawsuit. In the meantime, though, defections from the *Nemzeti Szalon* continued and were smugly enumerated in the pages of *Műcsarnok.*

At the *Nemzeti Szalon*'s Spring 1901 general assembly a few weeks later, Hock was forced to accept voluntary temporary withdrawal from the leadership (which would in fact become quite permanent). Hock's

legacy to the *Nemzeti Szalon* lies in his having established a true competition between it and the *OMKT*. The vehemence of his opposition to the *Műcsarnok* could not substitute, however, for his lack of a clear aesthetic direction. The outcome of the Hock affair would reverberate throughout the Hungarian art world for the next decade and a half, and in many ways it shaped the careers of its central characters. Among the many seismic shifts in the art politics of the era four stand out. The first was the tripartite division of camps among the *OMKT*, the Hock/Szikszay/Kézdi-Kovács camp, and the new leadership of the *Nemzeti Szalon* around Ernst and Ferenczy. Ironically, the divisions corresponded neatly to the satirical cartoon of 1897 showing Minister Wlassics in the role of Paris [See Figure 3.15]. In esthetic terms, the camps could be best categorized as academic, *juste milieu* (middle way or "happy medium"),[81] and Modernist. Within eight years of Hock's withdrawal, the first two camps had merged under the manipulative hand of Kézdi-Kovács, who was best able to harness the artist proletariat's electoral potential by wielding the twin forces of journalism and political organizing so that by 1909 he controlled more the five-sixths of the market's capacity. The second shift was that the Hungarian art world never forgave Szikszay or Hock for the article. They were essentially banished, and for all intents and purposes, that has remained the case. Furthermore, the *Nemzeti Szalon*'s International Exhibition of 1901 served as a macrocosm of the fate of the Hungarian artists associated with it. Virtually none of those Hungarians would have a significant lasting impact on their national art tradition, and that is most cruelly true of Szikszay.[82] On a grander scale, the same could also be said of Mourey's *Societé Nouvelle*. They too, despite the advantages of having been supported by one of the most influential critics of the day, have all become artists known only to specialist art historians, and even their leading lights like Constantin Meunier (1831–1905) and Puvis de Chavannes are more exemplars of forgotten stars than the house-hold names they once were. The third shift was that the event set a pattern for a number of features of the new competitive art market, among them: the use of foreign critics to support local opinion; the use of exhibitions of foreign artists which include (and validate) local ones; and, unsurprisingly, reactions of outrage by criticized or excluded artists. Lastly, Hock's removal, above all else, proved crucial to the rise of Modernism in the art market as it left a leadership vacancy at the *Nemzeti Szalon* that two young impresarios would rise to fill.

The Golden Age of the *Nemzeti Szalon* under Ernst

Lajos Ernst (1872–1937) took over as the organization's managing director in the Spring of 1901 and immediately began to personally repair the damage done by his predecessor's brusque methods. In addition, Miklós Rózsa (1874–1945) became the organization's secretary, and used the position to forge close relationships with artists who would come to prominence through the *Nemzeti Szalon*'s Modernist surge during the first decade of the twentieth century. Ernst, acting under instructions from Count Gyula Andrássy, the Szalon's honorary president, began to court the artists who left and urge them to return to the *Szalon*.[83] These entreaties were especially directed towards the leaders of the Nagybánya group who had defected back to the *Műcsarnok* the previous year. István Csók, who had actually taken part in the expulsion of Hock at the *Nemzeti Szalon*'s assembly,[84] had taken a role in the new leadership as vice-president. Ernst used Csók's ascendency to show that the *Nemzeti Szalon* would once again serve as a venue for these painters, whose presence was crucial to identifying the institution with modern trends.[85]

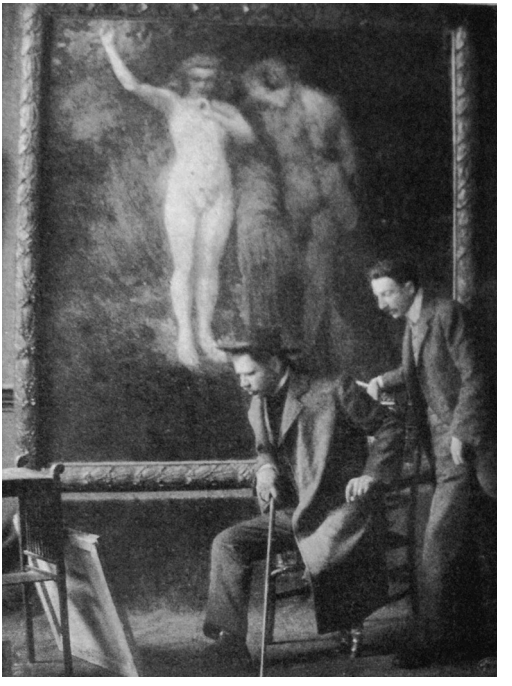


Fig. 3.26. Lajos Ernst standing behind János Vaszary during preparations for Vaszary's one-man show at the *Nemzeti Szalon* in 1906. Source: *Vasárnapi Ujság*, March 25, 1906, vol. 53. no. 12, 323.

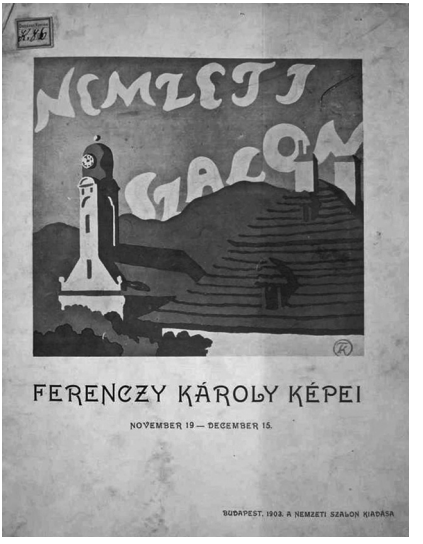
The first noticeable difference in Ernst's *Nemzeti Szalon* was a brisker pace of exhibitions. Under Hock, the institution had already established a rhythm of Spring, Fall, and Winter shows, but now Ernst began to intersperse the large collective salons with solo exhibitions and retrospectives. This near doubling of the pace of the organization's activity had much to do with the improved professionalism

Fig. 3.27. Miklós Rózsa as he appeared in the 1901 *Nemzeti Szalon* International Exhibition catalogue. Source: *Kalauz és képes tárgymutató a Nemzeti Szalon nemzetközi kiállitására,* Catalogue, 1901.

of the *Nemzeti Szalon*'s team, especially the organizing capacity of Ernst and the diplomatic skills of Rózsa. In the first full year of their administration, the *Nemzeti Szalon* held three seminal retrospectives. Mihály Zichy's show was the first time that Hungary's most famous painter abroad (now that Munkácsy had died) could show his full oeuvre and remind the public of his brilliance. Furthermore, the event offered a first chance to display his enormous, 25 m² masterpiece created for the 1878 Paris World Exhibition but not shown because of its anti-militarist message, *The Victory of the Genius of Destruction.*[86] It was also here that Rózsa launched his own career as a curator and wrote a lengthy introduction and commentary on the important paintings.[87] László Paál's (1846–79) retrospective drew wider attention to the man who could be called Hungary's earliest Impressionist, in that he had been a full participant of the Barbizon School and had painted numerous landscapes in the forest of Fontainebleau in a style that favored the dissolution of form in favor of color. Tragically, he died at the age of 33, before he could be identified and canonized as one of the early pioneers of this trend, though he did manage to introduce Munkácsy to the *plein air* technique. In cruel irony, while under Ernst's care at the *Nemzeti Szalon*, a number of his finest works were destroyed by a fire [See Figure 3.28] before the retrospective opened. The catalogue documents the calamity, as many works that were meant to be shown are represented only by photographs, and others are designated as damaged by fire.[88] The show also signaled the arrival of another key Modernist impresario, Béla Lázár (1869–1950), who was its curator and wrote the catalog introduction.

Finally, Károly Ferenczy's one-man show in late 1903 secured both the artist's long-term association with the *Nemzeti Szalon* and also the Szalon's reputation as a purveyor of progressive tendencies in art. Throughout the next four years, important solo exhibitions were staged as a series on Modern Hungarian Artists. The first was devoted

Fig. 3.28. A photograph of the damage from the fire in the main hall that destroyed a number of works of László Paál prior to his exhibition at the *Nemzeti Szalon* in 1902. Source: *Uj Idők*, November 9, 1902, vol. IX, 21.



to Ferenczy in 1903; then Frigyes von Strobenz (1856–1929) in 1904; Szinyei-Merse, Ferenc Olgyay (1872–1939), and Adolf Fényes in 1905; the founder of the revived Szolnok school of landscape painting, Iványi-Grünwald and stylistic virtuoso János Vaszary (who had been recruited away from the *OMKT*) also enjoyed one-man shows in 1905. In this way, in the years prior to 1907,

Fig. 3.29. Catalogue cover from a 1903 solo exhibition of Károly Ferenczy's works. Source: *Ferenczy Károly Képei,* Catalogue, 1903.

the canon of Modern masters was quite literally written by this so-named exhibition series.

The New Building on Erzsébet tér

If 1901 represented the year the *Nemzeti Szalon* finally achieved a certain amount of both prestige and stability (following the departure of Hock), then the ensuing years were the ramp up to 1907, when the institution finally blossomed fully and defined itself as a main pathway for Hungarian artistic development through the years up to the First World War. The *Nemzeti Szalon* had been using the first floor of the Cziráky Palota since 1897. On the corner Hatvani út [later Kossuth Lajos út] and Szép utca, it was considered to be better located and more spacious than the original home on József körút, and if the *Nemzeti Szalon* had set out to be like a casino, then this was the perfect site. The building's main function was as home to the *Nemzeti Casino* [National Casino], and it had been owned by that institution since 1878.[89] The location was well positioned on the edge of Ferenciek tere, which was a key commercial region of the city and one that would remain a center of the art market for the next two decades. The facility, however, only provided "two–three bad exhibition rooms," and cost 15,000 korona a year.[90] The display areas could hold 150–250 works at one time.[91] Exhibitions generally ran for two–three months, costing 3,000 korona in

Fig. 3.30. Cziráky Palota, at the corner of Kossuth Lajos út and Petőfi utca, on the 1st floor were the rooms used by the *Nemzeti Szalon* until the opening of the Erzsébet tér pavilion. Source: *Budapesti Történeti Múzeum-Kiscelli Múzeum*.

rent alone. Thus major exhibitions needed to bring in at least 30,000 korona in sales for the Szalon's 10% commission to cover the rent. Since the *Nemzeti Szalon* certainly was not reaching such sales levels, rents could only be sustained by membership dues. These economic forces would apply to many other institutions at this period, as rents could never be covered by the sale of artworks at exhibition alone. By 1907, however, the *Nemzeti Szalon* had proven its social and cultural usefulness sufficiently to merit government assistance in acquiring Alajos Hauszmann's (1847–1926) neo-Renaissance style spa kiosk on Erzsébet tér. The structure lay at what was very much the center of the old Pest art market of the early nineteenth century, and sat at the other end of the Sugár út from the rival *Műcsarnok*.[92] The western side of the building was dramatically altered by the new tenants, while the remainder of the structure stayed as Hauszmann had designed it in 1873–74.[93] The modern additions to the buildings included a façade of iridescent green Zsolnay eosin-glazed pyrogranite tiles and stained-glass windows based on a design by the leading representative of the Arts and Crafts branch of the Hungarian Art Nouveau, Aladár Körösfői-Kriesch (1863–1920), with the stained glass executed Miksa Róth (1865–1944).[94] The total cost of the renovation, 115,000 korona (the Zsolnay tiles alone cost 15,000 korona.)[95] was covered by the Religion and Education Ministry.[96] The Budapest city government granted the *Szalon* the use of the location for 50 years rent-free, but the *Nemzeti Szalon* had to pay an indemnity of 10,000 korona per year for five years to the previous tenants of the facility.[97]

In the year of its inauguration its new building the *Nemzeti Szalon* staged three crucial exhibits that held profound importance for the emergence and acceptance of modern art in Hungary. Two were foreign exhibitions, largely of French art, but unlike the earlier International Exhibition of 1901, this time the organizers accurately predicted art history's long-term trends and chose artists who would have seminal influence on the new generation of painters coming of age in the twentieth century. The first, in May 1907, was the Gauguin and Cézanne exhibition, which highlighted the former painter especially but also included works by van Gogh and even a drawing by Henri Matisse (1869–1954).[98] In this way, it can be said that Hungarian artists were first exposed to Post-Impressionism before they ever knew classical Impressionism.[99] The exhibition also helped to introduce the Budapest art world to Gauguin and Cézanne, whose styles would be most closely

Fig. 3.31. The new façade, designed by the Vágó brothers, for the *Nemzeti Szalon* in 1907. Source: *Uj Idők,* March 23, 1907, 279.

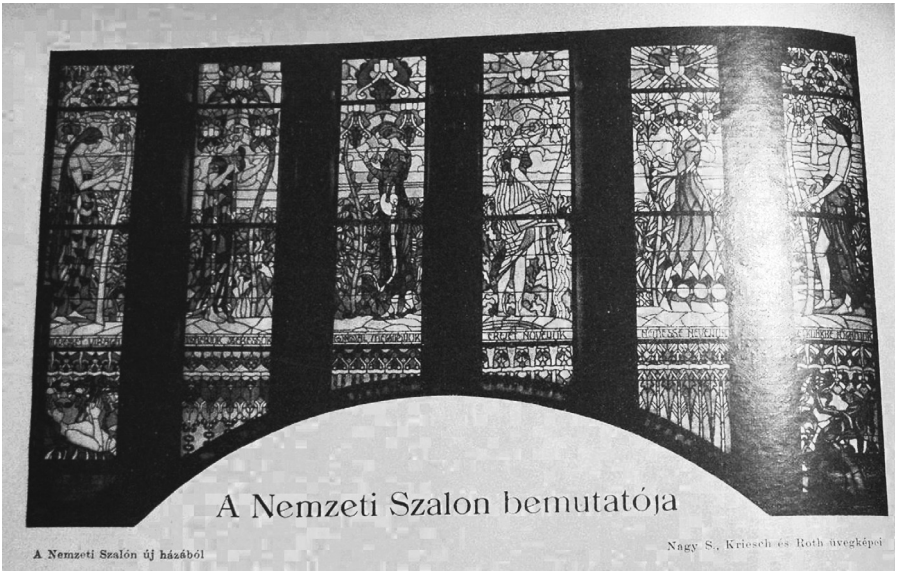


Fig. 3.32. The new façade included 6 stained glass windows designed by Aladár Körösfői-Kriesch, executed by Miksa Róth. Source: *Uj Idők,* March 23, 1907, 282.

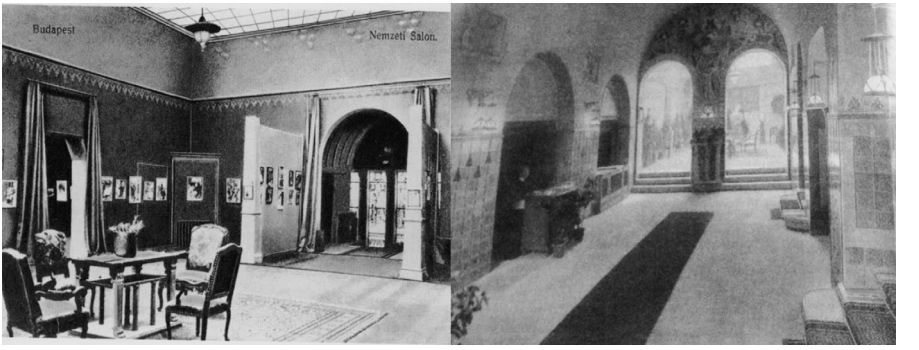
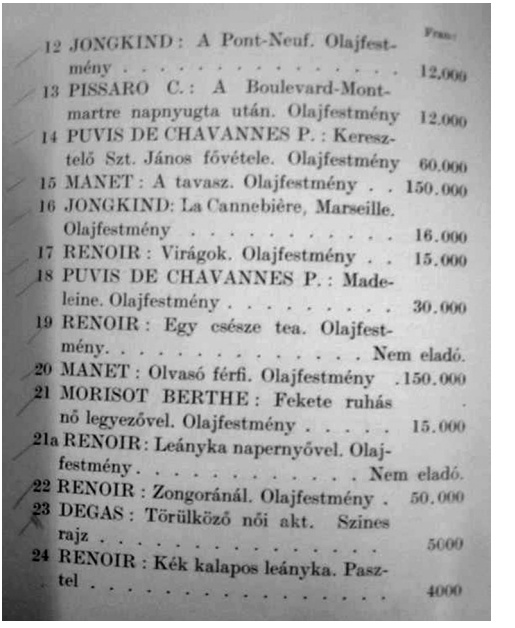


Fig. 3.33. Interior of the exhibition rooms [left]. The foyer [right] had its surfaces covered by Zsolnay eosin tiles. Source: *Budapesti Történeti Múzeum-Kiscelli Múzeum*.

identified with the version of Hungarian modernism that would present itself that same year, and, in fact, critics frequently accused the painters of too closely mimicking these two masters. József Yartin, for example, observed Béla Iványi-Grünwald's imitation of Gauguin and joked, "perhaps the whole similarity is simply that Gauguin was painting Samoans in Tahiti and Iványi—Gypsies in Tahitót-falu."[100]

The earlier movement, Impressionism, would not arrive until December 1907 with the French Masters show, which included Manet, Claude Monet (1840–1926), Edgar Degas (1834–1917), Camille Pissarro (1830–1903), and most other significant representatives of the Barbizon School and Impressionism. It also featured a large number of Rodin drawings. These works were selling at staggeringly high prices, with most pieces being offered for between 10,000 and 150,000 francs or 7,000–100,000 korona.[101] Prices at that level had never been seen by this generation,[102] neither at the *Műcsarnok* nor at the *Nemzeti Szalon,* and their very existence helped to convince the art public that Modernism could equate with high values. Lajos Ernst wrote that the goal of the exhibitions was to: "familiarize the art-loving public with Modern Western movements, with the purpose being to serve in promoting the development of local Modern art."[103] The inserted Hungarian works made an odd counterpart, with no participation by any local practitioners of Impressionism, with the exception of Simon Hollósy.

The seminal effect of these two shows could lead to the conclusion that Modernism, particularly in the form of Post-Impressionism, had consolidated its hold on the *Nemzeti Szalon* by this time, but



		Francs
12	JONGKIND: A Pont-Neuf. Olajfestmény	12.000
13	PISSARO C.: A Boulevard-Montmartre napnyugta után. Olajfestmény	12.000
14	PUVIS DE CHAVANNES P.: Keresztelő Szt. János fővétele. Olajfestmény	60.000
15	MANET: A tavasz. Olajfestmény	150.000
16	JONGKIND: La Cannebière, Marseille. Olajfestmény	16.000
17	RENOIR: Virágok. Olajfestmény	15.000
18	PUVIS DE CHAVANNES P.: Madeleine. Olajfestmény	30.000
19	RENOIR: Egy csésze tea. Olajfestmény	Nem eladó.
20	MANET: Olvasó férfi. Olajfestmény	150.000
21	MORISOT BERTHE: Fekete ruhás nő legyezővel. Olajfestmény	15.000
21a	RENOIR: Leányka napernyővel. Olajfestmény	Nem eladó.
22	RENOIR: Zongoránál. Olajfestmény	50.000
23	DEGAS: Törülköző női akt. Színes rajz	5000
24	RENOIR: Kék kalapos leányka. Pasztel	4000

Fig. 3.34. The cover page and a catalogue page of the 1907 French Modern Great Masters Exhibition. Manet's *Spring* (*Study of Jeanne Demarsy*) of 1881, and his *Reading Man,* were each priced at 150,000 francs. These were, by far, the most expensive paintings ever offered on the Hungarian art market before World War I. Source: *Nemzeti Szalon, Modern francia nagymesterek tárlata,* Catalogue, 1907.

in fact quite the opposite had happened. The year was marked by an eruption of tensions between two factions known as the *maradiak* [Traditionalists] and the *hóbortosok* [Eccentrics] within the *Szalon*'s membership.[104] Even after 13 years of existence, the *Szalon* had still not settled on the idea of what it was *for* and instead continued to be defined only by its opposition to the *Műcsarnok*. Given that the *maradiak* mocked the *hóbortosok* as *Izmus-ok* [Ismists, or followers of the various isms], the debate and its terms did, in fact, quite accurately describe the clash of paradigms—with one side, representing a resilient notion of a hegemonic consensus on quality, battling with the new Modernist/formalist dialectic of permanent esthetic revolution. Though the *Nemzeti Szalon* might subsequently be considered a Magyar "secession," at this point its most progressive elements certainly did not think such an exodus had yet taken

place. Miklós Rózsa, the key organizing figure of Modernism from this point on, wrote in 1905:

> We need to establish the Hungarian Secession, on the model of the large foreign art centers, where Modern masters can be among their peers, far from low quality art-less competition; where each year they show, in the framework of one or two exhibitions, which paths have been taken, what was sought, and what has been successfully created! We still need to make a Hungarian Secession [...] where, while still warm and fresh, we can absorb the current of local and foreign Modern art which—we poor Balkan people—was not what was shown this year at the *Műcsarnok*.[105]

Rózsa had by this time left the position of secretary and was taking an increasingly antagonistic attitude towards the *Szalon*'s leadership. The brewing debate was essentially no different than that which had caused the creation of the *Nemzeti Szalon* in 1894 and the revolt against Hock's leadership in 1901. The battle was fought over the limited resources of an exhibition society and whether those resources should be spread equitably among the mass of its membership, or the *Szalon* should actively promote new tendencies in art embraced by only a small portion of its artists. Retrospective exhibits had become a regular feature since the beginning of the century, and since Ferenczy's one-man show in 1903, all of them had been in the framework of the Modern Hungarian Artists series and featured that same band of progressive artists labeled as the Eccentrics: Fényes, Csók, Ferenczy, and Vaszary. But what proved even more odious to the Traditionalists was the formation of groups by the Eccentrics to the exclusion of the vast majority of the *Szalon*'s membership. The group that these Eccentrics eventually formed, the *M.I.É.N.K.* (*Magyar Impresszionisták és Naturalisták Köre*) [The Circle of Hungarian Impressionists and Naturalists], and their ill-fated attempt to hold yearly exhibitions would finally result in the torch of Modernism being passed from the *Nemzeti Szalon* into other hands. The *M.I.É.N.K.*'s narrative is essentially that of the Hungarian Secession's second-stage, the revolt of the Modernist elite. If we carry through the metaphor, the *Nemzeti Szalon*'s role becomes more that played by the *Glaspalast* or the *Künstlerhaus*, in that it was what was seceded *from*. The more essential feature of any secession model is its capacity to be followed by further secessions and

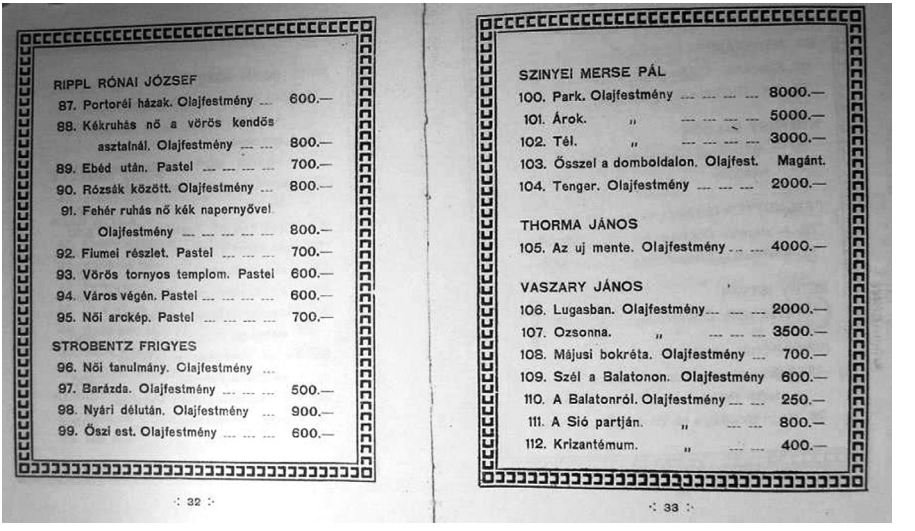
groupings and sub-groupings. In other words, as set forth in the Introduction, a secession should be seen not so much as a break but as a shattering.

By 1904, a core group of established Modernists had already made themselves apparent; and that year, Budapest's first real private gallery of contemporary art, the *Könyves Kálmán Szalon* [See Chapter 4], held an exhibition of Modern Hungarian Painters. The exhibiting artists comprised largely the same group as would be seen together for the next six years: Ferenczy, identified increasingly as the leader of the group (though leadership was not his forte); József Rippl-Rónai, now permanently resettled in Hungary after having worked largely in France until 1900; and the ever-morphing virtuoso János Vaszary. It also included Ferenczy's Nagybánya colleagues Iványi-Grünwald and Oszkár Glatz (1872–1958), as well as the mercurial landscapist and portraitist of tramps and male prostitutes, Baron László Mednyánszky (1852–1919). Other participants were Adolf Fényes, who had revived Pettenkopfen's Szolnok school of painting, and Károly Kernstok (1873–1940), who would eventually found the Hungarian grouping of fauvists, *A Nyolcak* [The Eight].[106] In fact, *Pesti Hírlap* declared that *this* was the Magyar Secession, since these artists had had to flee the two established exhibition societies.[107] With the later additions of another Nagybánya-ist, István Csók, and the original pioneer of Hungarian Impressionism, Pál Szinyei-Merse, essentially these individuals constituted the vanguard of Hungarian Modernism; and this grouping, though not implying any sort of stylistic consistency, became the first generation to coalesce in to an artistic entity. They were joined but also pursued by a second, more abrasive avant-garde generation close on their heels.

The Revolt of the Artist Proletariat under Kézdi-Kovács

The most controversial exhibition of 1907 was not either of the groundbreaking French shows. Rather, it was the one that opened the new *Nemzeti Szalon* pavilion on Erzsébet tér, titled *Nemzeti Szalon—March, 1907—First Group Exhibition* [*Nemzeti Szalon—1907 március—Első Csoport Kiállítás*] and was intended as the first group showing of those artists who already had appeared the Modern Hungarian Artist series. The source of the controversy lay in a crisis of hanging

capacity not very much different than the one that had plagued the *OMKT* a decade earlier. Once the new *Műcsarnok* began holding regular exhibitions in 1897, the *OMKT* leadership failed to understand the importance of expanding hanging capacity and kept salons of roughly the same size, if not a little smaller. The *Nemzeti Szalon* made the same mistake in 1907. Prior to the opening of the new pavilion, shows regularly averaged 285 pieces.[108] The Modern Hungarian show featured 124 works by only 25 artists, at a time when the *Nemzeti Szalon* had 250 member artists.[109] The jury was essentially one man, Ferenczy, who invited the participants and selected the works. In the catalogue introduction Ernst declared that he is pleased to have led the *Szalon* out of its crisis and he sees this exhibition as a triumph of his goal to raise the artistic standards at the exhibitions.[110] The exhibitors were essentially those same artists who had already been honored with one-man shows in the preceding four years; now they were showing samplings of those works collectively. The prices asked at the Modern Hungarian Artists show were dramatically higher—1,317 korona on average—than what had been asked previously at the *Nemzeti Szalon*.[111] This was, in fact, the exhibition with the highest averaged price yet of Hungarian



RIPPL RÓNAI JÓZSEF
87. Portoréi házak. Olajfestmény ... 600.—
88. Kékruhás nő a vörös kendős asztalnál. Olajfestmény ... 800.—
89. Ebéd után. Pastel ... 700.—
90. Rózsák között. Olajfestmény ... 800.—
91. Fehér ruhás nő kék napernyővel. Olajfestmény ... 800.—
92. Fiumei részlet. Pastel ... 700.—
93. Vörös tornyos templom. Pastel 600.—
94. Város végén. Pastel ... 600.—
95. Női arckép. Pastel ... 700.—

STROBENTZ FRIGYES
96. Női tanulmány. Olajfestmény ...
97. Barázda. Olajfestmény ... 500.—
98. Nyári délután. Olajfestmény ... 900.—
99. Őszi est. Olajfestmény ... 600.—

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SZINYEI MERSE PÁL
100. Park. Olajfestmény ... 8000.—
101. Árok. „ ... 5000.—
102. Tél. „ ... 3000.—
103. Őszszel a domboldalon. Olajfest. Magánt.
104. Tenger. Olajfestmény ... 2000.—

THORMA JÁNOS
105. Az uj mente. Olajfestmény ... 4000.—

VASZARY JÁNOS
106. Lugasban. Olajfestmény ... 2000.—
107. Ozsonna. „ ... 3500.—
108. Májusi bokréta. Olajfestmény ... 700.—
109. Szél a Balatonon. Olajfestmény 600.—
110. A Balatonról. Olajfestmény ... 250.—
111. A Sió partján. „ ... 800.—
112. Krizantémum. „ ... 400.—

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Fig. 3.35. The catalogue of artworks from the *Nemzeti Szalon—March 1907—First Group Exhibition* as the culmination of Ernst's Modern Hungarian Artists exhibition series. Almost all works started at above 500 korona with most artists having some works priced at 3,000–4,000 korona and above. Source: *Nemzeti Szalon—1907 Március—Első Csoport Kiállitás,* Catalogue, 1907.

artists, and the first one where the average painting price ranged above 1,000 korona.[112] The 1907 Fall show, which followed the expulsion of the *hóbortosok* from the leadership of the Szalon, presented works by 78 artists, and the average asking price was again in line with previous pricing at 285 korona.[113] Resentment ran high at what was again taking on the appearance of another labor aristocracy when Hock's had only just been disposed of six years earlier. László Kézdi-Kovács, who would remain the nemesis of Modernists in the *Szalon*, wrote that "it is unacceptable that at an inaugural exhibition to a new home of Hungarian art you exclude most Hungarian artists."[114]

Fig. 3.36. József Rippl-Rónai, *My Father and Brother with a Violin*. The asking price for this work was 4,000 korona. Source: *Első Csoport Kiállitás, Nemzeti Szalon,* Catalogue, 1907.

The disgruntled majority of the *Nemzeti Szalon*'s membership prepared for revolt, which erupted at the ensuing general assembly in May 1907. Again, Kézdi-Kovács, played the role of chief antagonist of the Eccentrics: "The vice-President [Ferenczy] contravened the articles of foundation and the rule of the jury and simply appropriated the *Szalon* for himself and his friends, and excluded the other artists..."[115]

The Traditionalist *maradiak* camp of Kézdi-Kovács prepared a slate of their leading representatives to replace the then-current leadership of the *Szalon*, and they referred to themselves as the "serious" artists. This victorious list included: Miksa Bruck (1863–1920), Imre Knopp (1867–1943), László Hegedűs (1870–1911), Ármin Glatter (1861–1916), Tihamér Margitay, János Pentelei Molnár (1878–1924), Béla Radnai, Fülöp Szenes (1863–1944), Gyula Éder (1871–1945), Lajos Márk (1867–1942), and the architect Emil Vidor (1867–1952). With the benefit of hindsight we can observe that the artist proletariat's choice of representatives could not be more contrary to that of later twentieth-century art historians. The losing Modernist list included the usual names of Ferenczy, Szinyei, Vaszary, Kernstok, Fényes, Thorma, Réti, Rippl-Rónai, and Csók; artists who account for over 50 percent of the works now hanging in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century sections of the *Magyar Nemzeti Galéria* [Hungarian National Gallery]. None of the artists from the winning list have any works on permanent display in the Gallery.

When the Traditionalist slate easily defeated the progressive slate of artists who had appeared in the controversial March exhibition,[116] much of the subsequent debate surrounded, unsurprisingly, the subject of finances and resources. After detailing the expenses for the new pavilion at Erzsébet tér, the secretary reported that the *Nemzeti Szalon*'s total sales at three collective exhibitions, plus an additional summer sale and five countryside exhibitions came to 100,000 korona.[117] The discussion became particularly heated when Miklós Rózsa tried to defend the controversial Ferenczy-curated First Group Exhibition and said that, statistically, it had exceeded expectations, and so had been a financial success.[118] During the debate, Ferenczy attempted to make a speech to defend his actions and decisions, arguing that the exhibition had been undertaken in exception to the rules because under the rules, a good exhibition could not be mounted. In fact, Ferenczy admitted he did not even know the by-laws, at which point a great uproar broke out and hecklers shouted: "That's a fine vice-President!" Finally Ferenczy blurted out in frustration, "Art cannot be conceived on a democratic basis!"[119] Béla Lázár described this fundamental problem of democracy in art as a "Compact of the Majority" in the "Interests of Uniformity," and he related that Dezső Czigány (1883–1937) had shouted at the meeting: "Long live true art—which is aristocratic! The knowledge, the talent, and the genius are all aristocratic!"[120] The battle

lines could not have been drawn more clearly. The interests of the artist proletariat could no longer co-exist with a mandate to advance progressive artistic developments, and their old nemesis, academic elitism, had now been replaced by a new one, Modernist elitism.

The *M.I.É.N.K.*

Following the dramatic May 1907 meeting, certain disillusioned younger artists quickly abandoned the *Nemzeti Szalon* in favor of the open-minded *Könyves Kálmán Szalon*, where they would hold the *Fiatalok* [The Young Ones] exhibition [see Chapter 4]. The rejected *hóbortosok* also acted quickly and gathered together at the Modernist artists' base of operations: the painters' table at the Japan Coffeehouse on the Sugár út near Oktogon.

There, the triumvirate of Modernism, Szinyei-Merse, Ferenczy, and Rippl-Rónai, signed the May 1907 announcement letter that came to mark the establishment of the *Magyar Impresszionisták és Naturalisták Köre (M.I.É.N.K.)* [The Circle of Hungarian Impressionists and Naturalists]. Kézdi-Kovács published his version of the events: "Malicious rumor has it that this was how it happened: as he was sitting by the artists' table in Café Japan on a romantic night, maestro Szinyei suddenly cried out: 'Damn it, boys, it is now or never that we pull off the Secession that I had wanted to do in 1872.' And it was that cry,

Fig. 3.37. *Japán Kávéház* [Café Japan], where the idea for the M.I.É.N.K. was hatched. Source: *Budapesti Történeti Múzeum-Kiscelli Múzeum*.

Fig. 3.38. Group photograph with most of the important members of the *M.I.É.N.K.*, including Pál Szinyei Merse and József Rippl-Rónai, who is looking straight into the camera. Source: *Budapesti Történeti Múzeum-Kiscelli Múzeum*.

which led to the establishment of the Secession *M.I.É.N.K.*"[121] Rippl-Rónai expressed the artists' intentions when he commented: "We are the Eccentrics who've been run out of the Szalon. But there will be a new one, a real one, where art is the key word and not business."[122] The letter, which was sent to 20 other artists, expressed little in the way of ideology, only stating that the organization was for the purpose of holding independent, self-standing exhibitions.[123] The contacted artists then met again at the *Drexler Vendéglő*, where they considered forming a real secession and even taking on that name, but the costs of maintaining an exhibition space put them off of that idea.[124] The artists who composed the *M.I.É.N.K.* never achieved a common aesthetic ideology, and for its short life, it remained committed only to its belief that exhibitions should be organized by the organization itself, its own jury choosing a small number of artists showing multiple works at relatively high prices. The group's model represented an acknowledgement that the art market was inherently unfair and that certain great artists who advanced the march of aesthetic evolution deserve to be honored and financially rewarded.

Again, the appellation "secession" becomes problematic with respect to the *M.I.É.N.K.*'s first exhibition because it was actually held at the *Nemzeti Szalon*.[125] Achieving this compromise secession, which did not actually depart from the institution, was the product of Ernst's great political and diplomatic skills, since he was able both to hold on to his management position within the *Szalon*'s administration and to prevent his best artists from leaving altogether. Instead, *M.I.É.N.K* was granted a yearly show of its own organizing. This strategy also made sense from a business perspective, since now that the institution had a permanent facility, their interest was to keep its halls filled year round. In fact, the time slot given to the *M.I.É.N.K* was hardly desirable, as it came after the big Christmas season, when traditionally the largest purchases take place on the art market (a pattern that survives today). The first *M.I.É.N.K* exhibition opened on January 11, 1908, at approximately the same time as the big winter *Műcsarnok* was closing,[126] a time when in theory the market should have spent itself out (though, in fact, sales at that *Műcsarnok* had been noticeably weak).[127]

The *M.I.É.N.K* show met with immediate derision from both the *maradiak* camp, which was to be expected, and from proponents of progressive trends. Unsurprisingly, Kézdi-Kovács attacked the name of the organization—the acronym also means "ours": "The *M.I.É.N.K*'s first great mistake is that they are not ours. They have nothing to do with Hungary. This is not modern Hungarian art; it's international, it's art made from impressions of foreign icons." He saved particular vitriol for the younger exhibitors, Ödön Márffy and Béla Czóbel, whom he termed "humorous."[128] One of the supporters of the *maradiak*, Endre Komáromi-Katz (1880–1969), was deeply offended that a *M.I.É.N.K* artist, Gusztáv Magyar-Mannheimer had priced a work at 10,000 korona when back in 1885 he would have offered a picture for only 300 forints (600 korona).[129] To their enemies, the high prices served as another galling example of these artists' arrogance and elitism. The *Magyar Figaro* reflected the pedestrian mockery that the show inspired with the following joke: "Tell me, old man, what does *M.I.É.N.K* mean? It means: Many Grotesque and Ridiculous Pictures [*Mennyi Idétlen És Nevetséges Kép*]."[130] After the show closed, in disappointment and with negative critical appraisal, the group's core organizing figure, Miklós Rózsa, soon tried to form his own commercial entity, realizing that secession without a physical home was fundamentally hopeless. However, a second *M.I.É.N.K* exhibition took place a year later, again

during the less-than-ideal February spot, and again with the leadership of Ferenczy, Rippl-Rónai, and Szinyei, serving as a consultative jury, but essentially with decision-making diffused among all members.[131] The result was a show of 250 works from 17 regular members and an additional 15 invitees.[132] One critic moaned that nothing new was exhibited that had not been seen the previous year and considered the show a great disappointment to the younger artists, for whom this group would not be a viable point of break-through.[133] At this point, the youngest members—Ödön Márffy, Vilmos Perlrott Csaba, Dezső Czigány, and their mentor Kernstok—were already being referred to in print as "*keresők*" [seekers],[134] a name they openly employ soon afterward at their own show at the *Könyves Kálmán*.

By the end of February, after having been open for approximately two weeks, the second exhibition had sold more than 30 works, which was regarded as a sign of successful sales; though 30 out of 250 was about equivalent to the anemic sales at the *Műcsarnok*.[135] The mass-market weekly *Vasárnapi Ujság* summarized the exhibit's mixed reviews by explaining simply: one camp applauds while others double over in laughter, though there was no doubt that the show invigorated the Hungarian art world.[136] After the close of the show, rumors surfaced that the *M.I.É.N.K.* would dissolve and its members would rejoin the *Műcsarnok*.[137] Those reports proved overly optimistic.

The Consolidation of Power by Kézdi-Kovács

The new management of the *Nemzeti Szalon* began almost immediately to disburse the spoils of victory in the form of hanging space. In the 1907 Fall salon, Tihamér Margitay (now a member of the board of directors) showed 14 works, Gyula Éder had 23, Antal Berkes (1874–1938) had 5 (the previous two artists were members of the jury) and Kézdi-Kovács (the new artistic director) had 6.[138] The resurgence of democratic populism taking over control of these institutions would do little to eliminate the ever-present problem of *protectió* in the allocation of wall space. Scandal broke out especially over the fact that the new leadership's paintings dominated the collection sent to Máramarossziget for an exhibition.[139] As a consequence, they profited from a significant number of sales, with Béla Déry, the *Szalon*'s secretary, selling 6 works, Márk Rubovics, the registrar, selling 8, Ernő Markó

(1868–1945), the organizer of countryside exhibitions, selling 6, and Kézdi-Kovács, the director, selling 3.[140]

The *maradiak* consolidated their control over the institution in May 1909, two years after the contentious general assembly of 1907. At this point, Szinyei-Merse, Iványi-Grünwald, Vaszary, and Aladár Körösfői-Kriesch (1863–1920), the remaining pillars who had secured the continued usage of the facility for *M.I.É.N.K.*, were all expelled.[141] Most important for the future of the art market, however, was the deposing of the managing director, Lajos Ernst, who then went on to make an even greater contribution by founding his *Ernst Múzeum*. Outrage over the expulsion of even the venerable Szinyei-Merse resulted in the immediate renunciation of membership by Ernő Kammerer (1856–1920), the director of the Fine Arts Museum, and Gábor Térey, its managing director.[142] Rózsa, at this point, took a delegation to Count Gyula Andrássy asking him to either also renounce his position or accept a position as the honorary president of *M.I.É.N.K.*[143] (The much-preferred solution, which Rózsa would not achieve at this juncture, was to have a permanent exhibition space for the *M.I.É.N.K.*[144]) Andrássy refused to do anything, in the end, over concern that he might be taking on responsibility for *M.I.É.N.K*'s shaky finances.[145] *Pesti Hírlap*, Kézdi-Kovács's mouth-piece, responded by asserting that the general assembly had occurred in an absolutely legal manner and that furthermore "Ernst had compromised himself and serious Hungarian artists by admitting Ultramodernism onto the walls of the *Nemzeti Szalon*."[146] Andrássy did finally manage to arrange a meeting of Kézdi-Kovács and the *Szalon* leadership, with Ferenczy, Kernstok, and Szinyei-Merse representing *M.I.É.N.K.* The result was an agreement that the *M.I.É.N.K.* could use the *Nemzeti Szalon* for their 3rd exhibition in the next year. Furthermore, rapprochement was discussed between the two camps and also the *OMKT* (since Kézdi-Kovács could speak for both).[147] Perhaps the best encapsulation of the dispute comes from an un-signed satire in the *Pesti Napló* that includes a satirical list of 12 demands (referencing a list of demands drawn up by poet Petőfi and his associates that initiated the 1848–49 Revolution):

WHAT DOES THE *NEMZETI SZALON* WANT?

1. The removal of the Censor, or rather Jury.
2. The freedom of the door. Long live freedom of the door! (It is understandable that anyone who paints better than the others is free to be thrown out that door.)
3. Art Criticism should be permanently shut down.
4. Only those should paint who have permission of the *Szalon* leadership to paint.
5. It is forbidden for any one painter to paint better than the other painters.
6. The state should only buy those paintings that the *Szalon* designates for that purpose.
7. Those who have talent should enter a different field.
8. One must present one's painting doctorate, and only doctors of painting can display in public areas.
9. Foreign painting styles may be followed, in fact, they must be.
10. Where there is money to be earned, only those who the *Szalon*'s long-term membership decides are deserving can appear.
11. He who paints different from the long-term membership should wear a sign saying "No Talent" and sit in the corner and count.
12. Modernism is punishable by death.[148]

The document, with startling clarity, summarizes the Modernist position and its opposition to egalitarian display policies. It sets up the new dichotomy between mediocre old-time members who control the leadership by portraying it as a protective labor aristocracy and the other camp as young painters, superior painters, and Modernists. The latter being, in fact, precisely the membership of the new *Művészház*. Indeed, it was the unsatisfactory conclusion to the meeting with Andrássy and the possibility of rapprochement between the factions that drove Rózsa to declare his intention to form a new institution on his own, because he asserts:

> The *M.I.É.N.K.* accepted the *Szalon*'s newly offered "hospitality," but only with the understanding that they not under any circumstances erect a new home for Modern art, which the supporters of *M.I.É.N.K.* have promised to do... in order to avoid the stagnation of our movement we have to completely avoid "peace."[149]

Most presciently, Géza Lengyel saw the economic struggle for what it was:

> The guild members quickly understood each other. They were numerically superior and at the last general assembly, they expelled the *Miénk*... Idiotically woven-together phrases conceal the *Nemzeti Szalon*'s so-called revolution, which is in fact nothing more than a restriction of the market with the intent to monopolize it by those of bleak mediocrity and well-trained emptiness who believe all the money in Hungary that goes to art should go to them.[150]

Once the *M.I.É.N.K.* members stopped showing at the collective exhibitions, Lengyel found their absence was immediately apparent:

> Immediately after the expulsion of the *M.I.É.N.K.*, the Spring–Summer show opened at the *Nemzeti Szalon*. Very honest, honorable exhibition, the pictures are well-framed and hung, and with some degree of generosity, it can be said to be successful. Generosity, because we know what is missing. The closer the level is to achieving a good mediocrity, the more painful is the absence of that beautifully loud, bold, precious, and not a little bit stormy failed experiment.[151]

He found that the *Nemzeti Szalon* had essentially become no different than the *Műcsarnok* and asked, "Where's the salt, the flavor, the unique color?"[152] Furthermore, Szinyei-Merse, Fényes, and Rippl-Rónai had always been reliably solid sellers, and so their absence was also felt in terms of revenue.[153]

In the meantime, while peace was being negotiated by Andrássy, the *M.I.É.N.K.* took their show to Kolozsvár [Cluj] in late May 1909.[154] In another example of creative use of exhibition spaces for countryside shows, György Bölöni (1882–1959), a critic and impresario, staged this one at the city's ice skating pavilion.[155] Perhaps not the best solu-

tion for June–the local press praised the works but described the pavilion walls as "scorching."[156] From there, *M.I.É.N.K.* artists went on to show in Nagyvárad [Oradea], Temesvár [Timișoara], Szeged, and Debrecen during the summer of 1909.[157] By their third and final show at the *Nemzeti Szalon*, in 1910, the *M.I.É.N.K.* was a spent force. Kernstok had led away most of the younger members to hold the *New Pictures* exhibition at the *Könyves Kálmán Szalon* in December 1909, and other younger members like Tibor Boromisza (1880–1960) had defected to the new *Művészház*. The group was now referred to as only including 14 painters and a few dilettantes who all painted nothing but landscapes.[158]

As a sort of epilogue to the *M.I.É.N.K.* experiment, in February 1910, Baron Lajos Hatvany (1880–1917)—a literary critic, founder of the journal *Nyugat*, and together with his brother Ferenc Hatvany (1881–1958), the heir to the immense Deutsch-Hatvany sugar fortune—arranged for a showing of Hungarian art at the Berlin Secession. The idea was hatched when Alfred Kerr (1867–1948), the theater critic who together with art dealer Paul Cassirer (1871–1926) was re-founding the art journal *Pan*, asked Lajos Hatvany, "Tell me please, do you have there in Hungary any people who can paint pictures, as in painters, have you got any of those?"[159] The exhibition opportunity came at a peculiar moment in the Berlin Secession's history when it was itself convulsing in a battle between its first, impressionist-oriented generation managed by Cassirer and the painter Max Liebermann and a second expressionist-oriented generation led by Max Beckmann (1884–1950). By the time the exhibition actually took place, Cassirer had taken a temporary leave of absence from managing the society in order to protest the change of leadership.[160] Cassirer, however, may have had more of an agenda in organizing the exhibition than simply wishing to introduce the Berlin public to Hungarian painters. When he travelled to Budapest with Lajos Hatvany prior to the Berlin show and visited a number of leading collections in the country,[161] he could not have failed to notice that Lajos's brother Ferenc had started to buy significant works of French impressionism from Parisian dealers Paul Durand-Ruel (1831–1922), Bernheim-Jeune, and G. Petit.[162] Cassirer could have been using the Secession venue as an enticement to recruit a collector for his own excellent inventory of Impressionist works. Ferenc would indeed purchase significant pieces by Courbet and Manet from him in the ensuing decade,[163] including Manet's *Bar at the Folies-Bergére*.[164] In addition

to appearing in the 1910 exhibition, Ferenc Hatvany would also get his own solo show at Cassirer's gallery in 1912.[165] The invited painters corresponded closely to the evolving canon of Hungarian Impressionism, starting with Paál and Munkácsy, and altogether included 190 works from 27 artists.[166] The exhibitors almost exactly mirrored the membership of *M.I.É.N.K.*, of which Hatvany was also a member. The opening was attended by Max Liebermann and the director of the Munich *Neue Pinakothek*, Hugo von Tschudi (1851–1911), and it was immediately reported in the Hungarian press as a success.[167] By the time the show ended, Géza Lengyel, writing in *Nyugat*, would portray the show's reception in the German press as reflecting a moderate success, with Rippl-Rónai and Fényes being praised, and Czigány, Béla Czóbel (1883–1976), Orbán, and Iványi-Grünwald described as primitive and wild; in general an over-imitation of Parisian models was observed.[168] Lengyel however, did accurately perceive the importance of planting the seeds of Hungarian art in Germany, which would show enormous results within a decade through the relationship with Berlin's next great dealer, Herwarth Walden (1879–1941) of *Der Sturm*, and his close work with the emerging generation of the Hungarian *avant-garde*.

From the time of *M.I.É.N.K.'s* collapse in 1910, the *Nemzeti Szalon*'s collective exhibitions appeared to be heading into irreversible decline:

> Where once Iványi Grünwald's canvases had hung, now Kézdi-Kovács' oaks bloom into an idealized painted lilac with "high gloss" finish, Rippl-Rónai has been replaced by Ödön Kacziány, in place of Károly Kernstok and Dezső Czigány, Baron Stina Braunecker and Artúr Heyer swagger around. Expensive hall, sad sight...[169]

Surprising, given this triumph of artistic conservatives in the *Nemzeti Szalon*, the institution never became overtly reactionary in regards to what it exhibited. Even in the midst of the upheaval surrounding the 1909 expulsions, Oszkár Glatz, a *M.I.É.N.K.* member, remained scheduled for a solo show, and the scheduled third *M.I.É.N.K.* also remained as planned.[170] Furthermore, the institution now agreed to host the young artists and applied artists working under the name *KÉVE* [meaning literally "sheaf"] to stage group exhibits in 1909, 1911, and 1913. The *KÉVE* members portrayed themselves as seekers of a National Hungarian style; the *M.I.É.N.K.*, on the other hand, were often derisively portrayed as slavish imitators of French trends. *KÉVE*'s 1909

show actually opened during the most contentious period of the failed "peace" attempts between the Modernists and the Kézdi-Kovács camp. Alfréd Lakos suspected that the toleration of *KÉVE* was in fact a peace gesture in itself:

> The *Szalon* does not want to be accused of wearing powdered wigs. And this is how the *Szalon* is forced to be tolerant of ultramodernism. Nowadays there's only anarchy in Art, and any 10-member society—even those not talented enough to paint walls—can come together under some name as an "artists group."[171]

More sympathetic reviewers were smitten by Béla Málnai's totally white textile interior and remarked how much it improved every painting, even suggesting that the *Műcsarnok* and *Nemzeti Szalon* could learn the art of exhibiting from him.[172]

In 1911, the institution hosted the most well-defined and radical representatives of the avant-garde, The Eight [*A Nyolcak*], largely composed of younger members from the *M.I.É.N.K.*[173] who had first exhibited as The Seekers in 1909 at the *Könyves Kálmán* [see Chap. 4]. They showed again in 1912 in what they considered their "third" group exhibition.[174] The *Nemzeti Szalon* went on to have one more outstanding moment, in January 1913, when it hosted the Futurist and Expressionist show, which displayed significant foresight and bravery on the part Béla Déry (1870–1932), who succeed Rózsa as secretary and eventually Ernst, as director. The show featured the core figures of the Italian Futurist movement, Carlo Carrà (1881–1966), Luigi Russolo (1885–1947), Umberto Boccioni (1882–1916), and Gino Severini (1883-1966). It also featured the leading Munich Expressionists from the *Blaue Reiter* group, Alexej Jawlensky (1864–1941) and Wassily Kandinsky (1866–1944), as well as the prophetic Ludwig Meidner (1884–1966).[175] The *Nemzeti Szalon*'s primary achievement in the advancement of Modernism, though, was won and lost during the key years 1907–10 in the battle between the *maradiak* and the *hóbortosok* that decided the fate of the *M.I.É.N.K.* group and served as the key battleground of the Hungarian Secession.

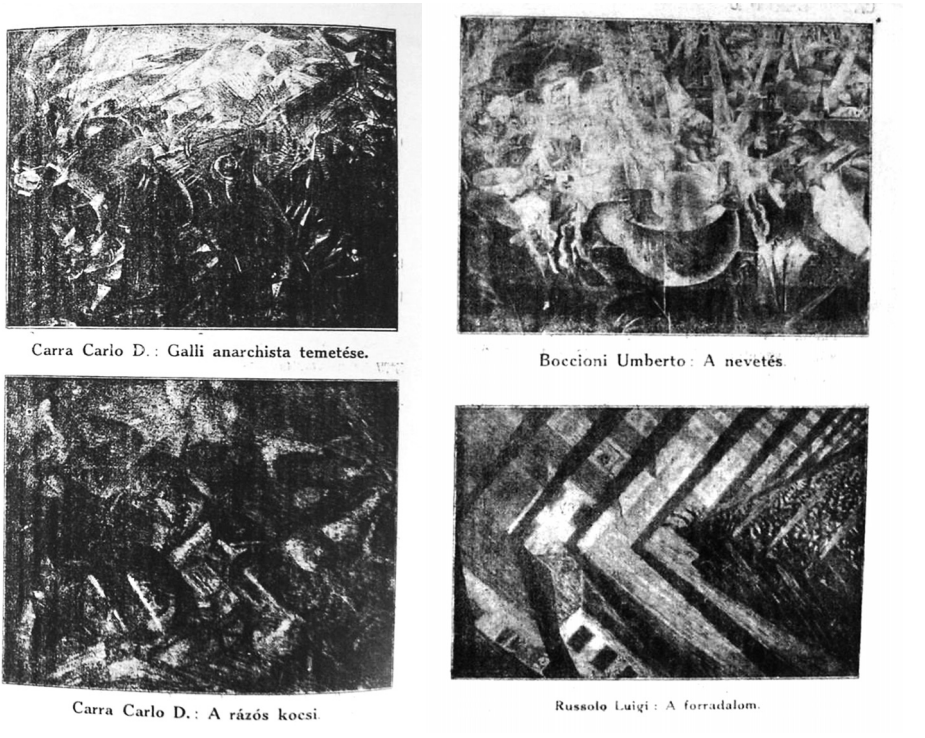


Fig. 3.39. Pages from the Futurist and Expressionist Exhibition Catalogue of 1913, showing works by Carlo Carrà, Luigi Russolo, and Umberto Boccioni. Source: *Nemzeti Szalon, Futuristák és Expressionisták kiállításának katalógusa*, Catalogue, 1913.

Chapter 4: Galleries Arise as the New Model of Commerce

Galleries in the Late Nineteenth Century

The blend of printers, lithographers, book dealers, and pawn shops that combined to form the earliest art marketeering in Pest did not go away with the arrival of the *Pesti Műegylet*, the *OMKT*, or the later *Nemzeti Szalon*. Rather, they continued to fulfill their roles through into the twentieth century, but only five: the *Uránia*, the *Eggenberger Szalon* and the *Könyves Kálmán Art Institute,* the *Művészház,* and the *Ernst* Múzeum emerged to become galleries of contemporary art on the modernist model, where the firm played an active role in promoting, organizing, and interpreting the works of living painters. Of the pre-modernist types of dealers from the nineteenth century, three different primary profiles can be distinguished: 1) book printers and sellers who also dealt in printed and original artworks; 2) interior designers, antique galleries, and pawn shops; 3) picture framers. One thing they all had in common, though, was that the sale of original contemporary artworks served as only one component of a larger blend of revenue streams, for example, the sale of books, vases, graphics, instruments, sheet music, mirrors and frames. A painting's key purpose in all of these commercial models was to fill the wall space of the retail establishment, and unique works of contemporary art could be found next to works by dead artists, mass-produced graphics, and mirrors. In this context, the paintings functioned primarily as interior decorating devices used within an overall ambience. Károly Lyka described the retail market in *Közönség és Művészet a Századvégen* [Audience and Art at the Turn of the Century]:

> Rózsavölgyi és Társa remained from the previous period, which primarily stocked musical instruments and musical works but also graphics. Similarly, the old store of Treichlinger mostly printed musical works,

> also sold copper etchings and lithographs, but would, for example, at the same time hock fashion wear and fabric. The greatest mix at that time could be found at the Ingósági Bazár on Régi Posta utca, where they offered pictures but also porcelain, furniture, calendars, tea, rum, and Tokaj wine. Furthermore, they even organized an auction in 1868 of anitique paintings. Antiques and jewelry could be bought from the Egger Brothers' shop and the Redlich Ármin shop on Dorottya utca. László Kugler carried musical works alongside old graphics in his store on József tér. All of this was in Pest. All the bookshops offered books and alongside them, various works of art. Kókai sold prints. Bernát Fekete promoted reproductions of Gyula Benczúr's *Rákóczi II* as an ideal Christmas present. Stolp's bookstore carried a few paintings by Pál Böhm from the 1870s on consignment, and at Eggenberger's one could find Albert Pákh's plaster busts as well as Miklós Izsó's works. Plaster copies from these masters could also be bought from Emil Metzger's bookshop on Bécsi utca.[1]

Erika Szurcsik-Molnár notes that according to the 1890 Budapest address registry, there were 6 *képkereskedés* [picture dealers] and 5 *mű- és zeneműkereskedés* [art and music dealers]. By 1901, though, the registry already listed 41 *kép- és képkereskedés* [picture and framing dealers].[2] The growth in these kinds of establishments indicates that despite the assertions of the *Nemzeti Szalon* founders to the contrary, there *was* a type of permanent picture market already emerging, but one that sold mostly Madonnas, saints, and hunting scenes.[3] Furthermore, such businesses could only emerge at this pace if the labor market were expanding equally as dramatically and was capable of producing such inventory at reliably modest prices on consignment terms highly favorable to the merchant; and that is exactly what the burgeoning artist proletariat provided. The fundamental orientation of these enterprises was towards interior decorating and less so one of promoting art-as-end-in-itself. The paintings needed to be compatible with the prevailing styles in applied arts, which were Old German [*Ónémet*] (a heavily carved version of neo-renaissance), Baroque, and Rococo.[4] Secessionist (as in the Central European term for *art nouveau*) design only began to appear in the very last years of the nineteenth century, after the seminal 1898 International Applied Arts Exhibition.

The advertisements from the *OMKT* and *Nemzeti Szalon* catalogues also reveal a number of active merchants who dealt mostly in origi-

Fig. 4.1. Nándor Winkle's advertisement. Source: ed. Béla Déry, László Bányász, Ernő Margitay, *Almanach (Képzőművészeti Lexikon)* (Budapest: Légrády Testvérek, 1912).

nal art's associated industries, such as prints, graphics, frames, and gilding, but might also have occasionally displayed a fine painting in the window to catch the attention of passers-by. Nándor Winkle, on Váci utca, one of the older establishments, boasting of having been established in 1861, offered original graphics and prints of old and modern masters as well as frames.[5] Arnold Rácz promoted his warehouse of gilded goods, pictures, and mirrors, and offered to make frames according to one's imagination and give artists a 30% discount.[6] Gyula Leitner claimed to be a connoisseur and art dealer with premises both in Karlsbad [Karlovy Vary] and Budapest specializing in Dutch, Flemish, German, and Italian old masters.[7] Some of these dealers, not surprisingly, were also trained artists who often gravitated to the trade by way of portraiture. Gyula Virány (1870–1964) presented himself as an art dealer with a large warehouse of contemporary paintings, but he also offered a host of other services, including portrait painting from photograph or nature, a wide selection of framing options, installment payments, and free delivery to the countryside.[8]

Emil Fellegi advertised himself as an academic painter who made portraits after photographs in "artistic expression" in either oil or pastel.[9] A number of these dealers had come to appreciate the need for a permanent marketplace for artworks, and by 1907 some advertised themselves with just such phrases. Virány did so, as did Béla Besnyő, who promised a permanent art market, without an entry fee, containing original paintings by famous artists at unbelievably cheap prices, and even promising occassional collective exhibitions.[10]

The artists who were the core founders of the *Nemzeti Szalon* in 1894 bemoaned the fact that there was no regular, established, permanent art market and no trust-worthy dealers; and that if the artists

Fig. 4.2. Advertisements from *OMKT* catalogues. [Left] The firm of Miksa Simonyi and Associates presented themselves as fine carpenters and wood sculptors. They created stylized mirrors, frames, and English furniture. They also offered a large selection of original oil paintings, as well as etchings and watercolors. Finally, they proclaim that they offer installment payments, without raising the price. [Right] Fixler M. proclaimed his enterprise a "Permanent Painting Exhibition" with the most exceptional and beloved local and foreign painters, among them Franz Stuck's newest paintings. Source: *Orsz. M. Képzőművészeti Társulat Téli Kiállítás 1903/04*, Catalogue, 1903.

Fig. 4.3. Advertisement for Illés Csáki's gallery at Andrássy út 48, one of the first to move out of the Váci utca/Ferenciek tere nexus. Source: *Tárgymutató az Orsz. Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1899 évi Tavaszi Nemzetközi Kiállitására,* Catalogue, 1899.

were successful in placing a work at a commercial establishment, they were offered some kind of barter exchange or at best a consignment arrangement.[11] This sort of complaint arose time and again throughout the later nineteenth century. An economist, Dr. Zsigmond Bán, described the situation in 1900 in a lecture titled *The Role of Art in Commerce*: "We cannot expect a lot from the societal movement, in so far as it has begun, of the popularization of art because we do not see dealers at the forefront of the movement, and it is they who will really have to come forward if the Hungarian art market is to develop."[12] The critic József Dénes Diner wrote that "art dealing operates on

the same laws as every other type of commerce," and he proposed a plan of action which would be both social and commercial. All it required would be one or two merchants with enough capital who were intelligent enough to see the potential in the art market. "It would not even require that much capital from the investor, nor would a large warehouse of bought-up inventory be necessary. Simply allow artists to place their unpurchased goods there on consignment."[13] The issue was widely discussed in the pages of the journal *Műcsarnok*, with one author suggesting that the art market needed to take its model from shops and stores because "there's only commerce in a shop, especially in one of the popular streets downtown, where the shop is constantly open." Furthermore, he proposed selling artworks through financing, with 5–10 forint monthly payments, which would make art collecting more affordable for the less wealthy.[14] A financing method was, in fact, briefly attempted for the *OMKT* by the publisher Singer and Wolfner, who was at the time also publishing the *Műcsarnok* journal. Miklós Rózsa bemoaned the fact that the Hungarian art market failed to resemble the much more advanced, multifaceted German one.[15] Lyka believed that such a market would only evolve when the middle class took up the role of patron.[16] In fact, such a thing was taking place, but simply not at the speed that the supply-side required.

The *Uránia*

The situation did begin to improve dramatically, though, in the early years of the twentieth century as increasing variants of commercial models began to compete with the salon system as a primary means of distributing artworks. Most importantly, a new type of dealer began to emerge, one based at an art gallery that took a much stronger role in interpreting and promoting its artists and aesthetically contextualizing their artworks. Despite the *Műcsarnok* writers' confidence that art commerce would be good business, in fact, it more often proved to be loss-making, and most attempts at commercial enterprises with a strong focus on selling original artworks ended in financial collapse sooner or later. The sale of art, time and again, simply failed to generate revenue capable of supporting the venue's real estate costs. The short-lived *Uránia* gallery serves as an excellent case in point. The establishment endeavored to fill both the role of interior design merchant and,

at the same time, serve as a focused promoter of progressive contemporary art. The idea for the firm was hatched at a 1905 meeting of the *Uránia Tudományos Egyesület* [*Uránia* Scientific Society] which met in the Uránia National Film Theater and also had an associated theater group. At the meeting, where even the minister of culture was present, a plan was launched to found a share-holding firm which would offer smaller scale art objects at a retail location in the city center.[17] The plan was finally realized in February 1906, and the opening was attended by Viktor Molnár (1859–1918), the state secretary for education.[18]

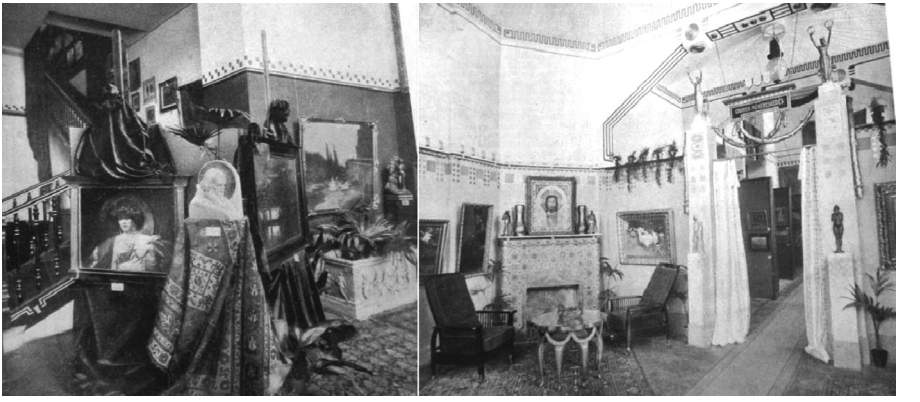


Fig. 4.4. The interior of the newly-opened *Uránia* Art Gallery in 1906. In front of the fireplace in the main room sits a very rare eight-leg "elephant" table designed by the Viennese cabinet maker Friedrich Otto Schmidt and popularized by the architect Adolf Loos (1870–1933). Source: *Vasárnapi Ujság,* 1906, vol. 53, no. 7, 105.

The location chosen indicated the continued draw of the old core of Pest's art market around Ferencziek tere [Square of the Franciscans]. The building, the prestigious Royal *Bérpalota/Zinspalais*, which faced the fashionable Klotild Palaces, sat on both Ferencziek tere and the adjacent Kígyó tér (later Apponyi tér), near the Elizabeth Bridge. The address represented a prime location for all manner of upscale retail but it was also particularly there that the earliest dealers had operated, including the venerable Eggenberger bookshop, which had been on the facing side of Ferencziek tere.[19] By this time, though, the Eggenberger had opened a designated gallery at the far end of the square, at Kecskeméti utca 3. Heading north on nearby Váci utca, one could find most of the existing dealers at the time, such as Besnyő and Winkle. Furthermore, for the first year of the *Uránia*'s operation, the *Nemzeti Szalon* was still located in some cramped rooms in the Cziráky Palace

at Hatvani/Kossuth Lajos utca, which was virtually across the street. The possibilities inherent in the Royal *Bérpalota/Zinspalais* had already been demonstrated by the two earlier self-staged exhibitions by Neogrády (1904) and Szikszay (1905) that were held there.

Fig. 4.5. The Royal *Bérpalota/Zinspalais* [Rental House] on Kigyó tér [right], home of the *Uránia* Gallery. The corner of one of the Klotild Palaces can be seen at the right edge. The building also held Antal Neogrády's 1904 and Ferenc Szikszay's 1905 retrospectives. Source: *Budapesti Történeti Múzeum-Kiscelli Múzeum*.

The *Uránia*'s incarnation as a share-held company showed that the argument that art dealing was profitable was gathering adherents ready to wager their capital on such a prospect. The firm's shareholders included leading art collectors and industrialists, among them: Artúr Wodiáner (1860–1921) who served as president, Baron Mór Lipót Herzog (1869–1934), vice-president, Baron Adolf Kohner (1865–1937), and József Wolfner (1856–1932).[20] Each of the company's shares was issued for 1,000 korona and the assurance of a 5% return with any remaining profits to be reinvested back in to the capital fund.[21] The painter and Benczúr-protégé Ákos Tolnay (1861–?), who formerly had run a women's art school, served as commercial director.[22] The description of the interior in *Vasárnapi Ujság* claimed that one could see:

> ...both the old and the new *garde* of painters with just about every important figure sending in a work. Every one of these interesting artworks is framed with an appropriate work of applied arts. [...] The new enterprise will not just put on exhibitions but will also work towards the goal that art receive its place in every facet of public life. They will also undertake aesthetically designed posters for merchants and manufacturers, can create artistic dance cards and menus, and advise on all topics where decoration and art can connect.[23]

The gallery clearly aimed to achieve the *Gesamtkunstwerk* concept in their operation and included a great deal of applied art work in their total scheme, and to some degree it also sought to imitate the Viennese example of the *Wiener Werkstätte* (formed in 1903) or to be more precise, the role of the *Galerie Miethke*, which served as the merchant for the *Werkstätte*. This comparison would become even more appropriate with the 1908 creation of the *Műhely* group, which held their first and second exhibitions there. At the same time, the venture also aimed to support itself with the familiar revenue stream of graphic design and printing. The firm's advertisement in a 1906/07 *OMKT* Winter catalogue listed a wide variety of objects that it dealt in, including: Hungarian bronzes, decorative leatherwork, laces, Hungarian jewelry, various interior design objects, and occasional gifts, with special note

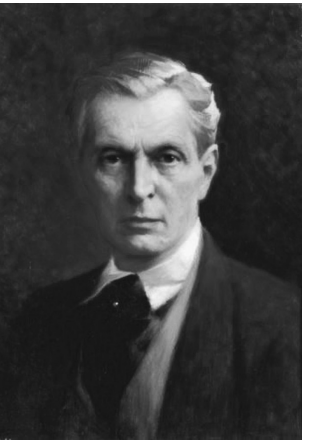


Fig. 4.6. [Left] A *Uránia Műkereskedés*' [*Uránia* Art Gallery] advertisement. Source: *Orsz. M. Képzőművészeti Társulat Téli Kiállítás 1906–07,* Catalogue, 1906. Fig. 4.7. [Right] A self-portrait of the commercial director, Ákos Tolnay. Source: http://www.kieselbach.hu

given to their permanent exhibition of objects from the Herend porcelain factory. Reflecting two important demands of the period, the *Uránia* promised to be open the entire day (for the Gulácsy and Márffy exhibition, they even remained open on the Easter holidays)[24] and offered installment payments on certain objects. Furthermore, the gallery advertised that it offered the best-known painters, sculptors, and applied artists in a permanent but changing sales exhibition.[25] The location featured four ground-floor rooms as well as two rooms on the mezzanine, and held 300 pictures in its inventory.[26] The short-lived journal *Modern Művészet* greeted the arrival of the gallery as a welcome change from the typical dealers who "speculate on the destruction of the public's taste" and referred to it as joining the ranks of the *Könyves Kálmán* and the *Eggenberger* as exceptions in maintaining high artistic standards. Tolnay's direction is also praised, and the article alludes to state support as allowing for the excellent location.[27]

From its very first exhibition, Tolnay designated a commitment to modern art (quite in contrast to his own work or that of his mentor Benczúr), and showed works by Ferenczy, Mednyánszky, Kernstok, Fényes, Lajos Gulácsy (1882–1932), Bertalan Pór (1880–1964), and Vaszary in the inaugural exhibition in February 1906.[28] This was essentially a very similar line-up to what the *M.I.É.N.K.* would exhibit two years later. The *Uránia* staged two exhibitions of particularly significant art historical merit. The first, in February 1907, featured two notable younger members of the *hóbortos* painters: Gulácsy and Ödön Márffy (1878–1959), both of whom emerged as bright spots in an otherwise dismal 1906 Winter *OMKT* salon, at least in the eyes of Modernist critics.[29] In the preceding year Márffy had very rapidly distinguished himself as an up-and-coming talent by earning positive reviews from his entries at the 1906 *Salon d'Automne*,[30] and he even received an invitation to membership in the *Union Internationale des Beaux-Arts et des Lettres.*[31] The exhibition was conceived along the familiar contrivance of being held for charitable purposes (Rippl-Rónai had again been a pioneer in this role as well), with the beneficiary to be the General University Assistance Union, for the purpose of building a dormitory.[32] Their show was preceded by one month by another future *M.I.É.N.K.* member, the *plein-air* impressionist Dániel Mihalik (1869–1910), which succeeded in garnering momentum for the gallery with positive reviews lauding his "flawless colors."[33] Kézdi-Kovács praised him for being modern but remaining Hungarian,[34] and the show was

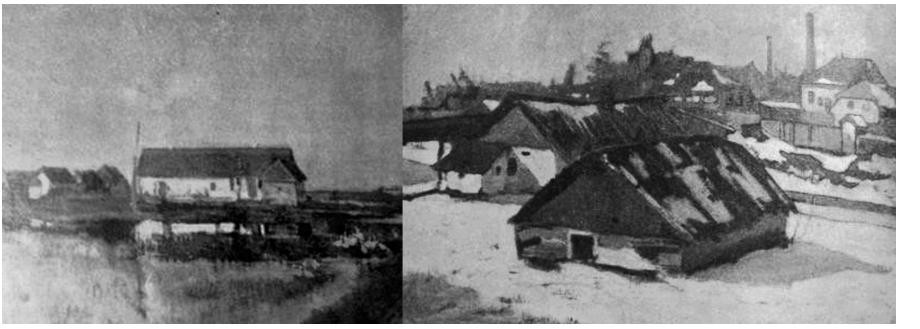
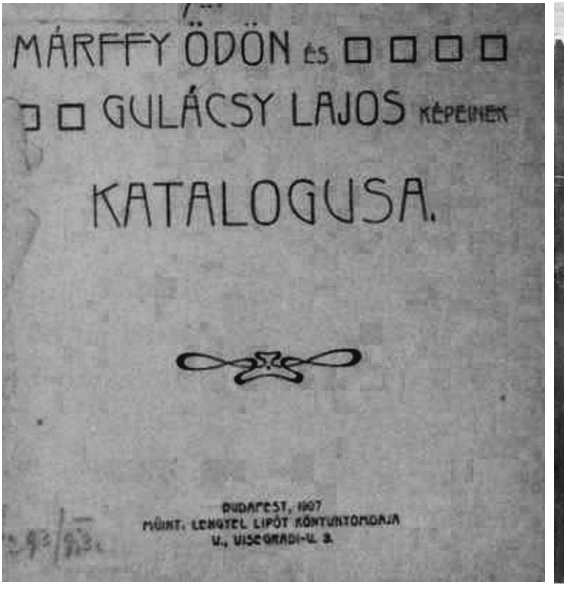


Fig. 4.8. [Left] Dániel Mihalik, *Farm at Spring*. Fig. 4.9. [Right] Dániel Mihalik, *Old Hovels*. Source: *Vasárnapi Ujság*, 1907, vol. 54, no. 11, 210–1.

Fig. 4.10. The above paintings [see:Figs. 4.8 and 4.9] showed at Mihalik's 1907 exhibition at the *Uránia*. Source: *Vasárnapi Ujság*, 1907, vol. 54, no. 11, 210–1.

seen as a great success especially in earning funds for the the dormitory.[35] Although Gulácsy and Márffy had been successful in both the *Műcsarnok* and the *Nemzeti Szalon*, the critic Ödön Rottenbiller understood the importance of more focused solo-type shows for artists when he wrote that "both artists knew that they were too new and too unusual—often too deep—to be appreciated in the framework of just one or two pictures."[36] He also added that their paintings at the *Uránia* can be bought on installments at affordable prices.[37] In fact, the prices

of almost all the paintings there were 1,000 korona or less, with most priced at between 200 and 800 korona.[38] Despite the fact that the show had to compete for attention with the opening, at the same time, of the new *Nemzeti Szalon*, it still managed to attract a surprising amount of press attention, garnering over 20 reviews in the Hungarian press, most of them positive.[39] Even the arch-conservative Kézdi-Kovács had to concede (perhaps sarcastically) that the success of the exhibition showed that Budapest had now become a World City.[40] The opportunity to present their work in bulk catapulted both of the newcomers to the front ranks of contemporary painters. Márffy, for example, was awarded the Capitol City Fine Art Prize with prize money of 4,000 korona.[41] The exposure also gave them the momentum to stage shows in the countryside. Márffy, particularly, proved to be the great self-stager of the era. His Nagyvárad and Fiume tour of 1909 was immensely successful critically and financially. The Nagyvárad show was enhanced by a Sunday matinee with readings, a lecture, and even some highlights of an operetta. The article describing this also named the local notables who had already bought his paintings.[42]



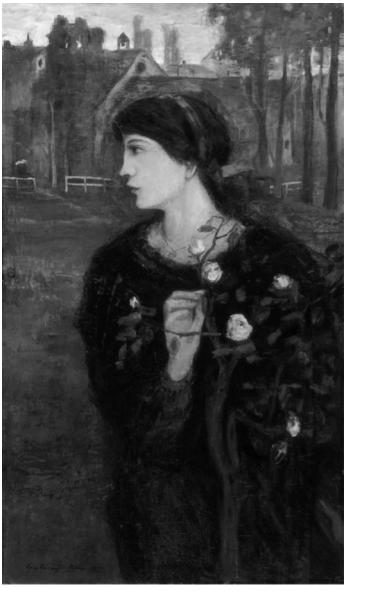


Fig. 4.11 [Left] Catalogue cover from the *Uránia* exhibition for Lajos Gulácsy and Ödön Márffy, which opened March 27, 1907. Source: *Márffy Ödön és Gulácsy Lajos képeinek katalógusa*, Catalogue, 1907. Fig. 4.12 [Right] Lajos Gulácsy, *Rose Branch,* from the exhibition. Source: *Uj Idők*, March 29, 1907, vol. XIII, no. 15.

By the time the show travelled on to Fiume,[43] 30 of the 80 works had been sold.[44] Márffy showed a knack for seeking suitable temporary locations as venues, like the main hall of the Fiume girls' high school.[45] On the day of the opening, three paintings had already been sold and more were reserved.[46]

The gallery's second collective exhibition focused on the theme of nudes. It straddled multiple artistic tendencies and featured both *Műcsarnok* painters, for example Róbert Nádler, and also future *M.I.É.N.K.* member Vaszary and future member of the avant-garde *Nyolcak*, Pór.[47] Also during that year, a special exhibition was arranged for Nándor Honti's (1878–1935) immense 13 x 9 foot *Sixth Hour*, showing Christ at Calvary preparing to be crucified.[48] The work, produced during the artist's years in the United States, from where he had just returned, was compared in size and scope to Munkácsy's Passion cycle.[49] The staging of this single work was a clear attempt to imitate Sedelmayer's success with Munkácsy's *Christ before Pilate*, and given the reviews, the young artist had reason for optimism. Later the same year, Ákos Tolnay took advantage of his management position in order to stage his own one-man show,[50] which, like earlier ones, received significant attention in the widely-read *Vasárnapi Ujság*, which featured six reproductions.[51] Tolnay represented a recurring figure in the turn-of-the-century art market, namely the artist/manager, someone endowed with the business and administrative skills to manipulate the market and who used that position to secure exhibition opportunities for himself. Such a position allowed him to portray his work in the best light by showing it in a venue which also exhibited those artists he most admired. As the example of Szikszay and Kézdi-

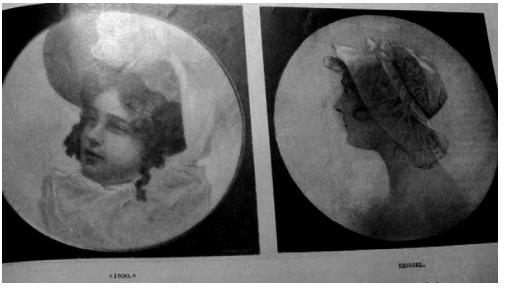


Fig. 4.13. Ákos **Tolnay *1800*, *Morning*, and *End of the Village*, from his 1907 *Uránia* show. Source: *Vasárnapi Ujság*, 1907, vol. 54, no. 44, 879–82.**

Kovács eventually showed, however, power and control over the market's limited access points proved to be no guarantee of long-term admiration. Tolnay's own exhibition also would mark the beginning of the crisis in his career as manager at the *Uránia*. The gallery, despite all the advantages of state sponsorship and a prime retail location, was clearly not providing a satisfactory return (if any) to the share-holders, and Tolnay's blatant expropriation of the gallery's exhibition space for his own one-man show would have been one of the last straws for the investors.

In 1908 the gallery's very existence seemed to be on the verge of being subsumed beneath its most successful exhibition, the applied arts *Műhely* [Studio] group. That grouping had come into its proto-format at a show organized in 1905 by the *Műbarátok* [Friend of the Arts] in an apartment with four rooms,each given over to different artists, the best known among them would be the founders of the Gödöllő art colony: Körösfői-Kriesch and Sándor Nagy (1869–1950).[52] The *Műhely* was consolidated three years later along the same Art Nouveau/Arts and Crafts aesthetic as the first show, with an emphasis on applied arts complemented by graphic fine art. Among the most important designers involved was the Transylvanian-themed architect and furniture-maker Ede Wigand (1869–1945).[53] He was a proponent of the "true source" approach to cultural ethnography (like Bartók in music) and propagated a pseudo-rustic carpentry method called plank-furniture.[54] In its role as a seller of applied arts works, the *Uránia* gallery increasingly came to express the *Gesamtkunstwerk* mission, with its combination of ap-

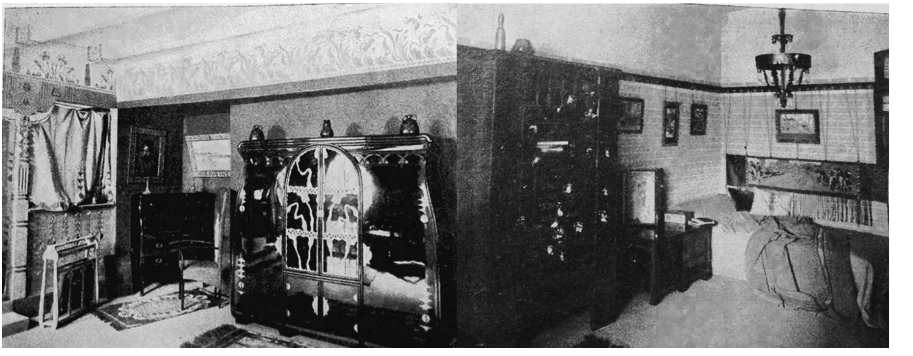


Fig. 4.14. Interiors from the *Műbarátok* exhibition in a Váci utca apartment in 1905. The room at right shows Mariska Undi's *Woman's Workroom*. Source: *Uj Idők*, April 23, 1905, vol. XI, no. 17, 403–4.

plied and visual arts. The *Műhely* group's primary goal was to provide the public with reasonably priced artistic objects, and their exhibition material at the *Uránia* was displayed throughout the gallery's seven available rooms.[55] The objects included, for example, tapestries woven by the Gödöllő artists Sándor Nagy and Mariska Undi (1867–1959). The exhibition also immediately followed the first *M.I.É.N.K.* exhibit, but as one critic observed, "After the *M.I.É.N.K.* this is one more group, or let's say, clique, which without competition lay siege to the buyer's pocket. From the perspective of the popularization of art, we can consider this business useful; on the other hand it is very indicative of current artistic conditions."[56] The group's administrator was Lajos Benkő, who also appears to have arranged to have art works and graphics displayed alongside the applied art works.[57] For example, one room featured an entire collection of lithographs made by József Rippl-Rónai during his Paris period,[58] and, in general, the show displayed pictures from the "most modern artists."[59] This list included the same individuals who had just been exhibiting as the *M.I.É.N.K.* over at the *Nemzeti Szalon*: Ferenczy, Czóbel, Vaszary, Gulácsy, and Márffy.[60] The highlight among these works was an extremely early 1869 study by Szinyei, *Women Swinging*, done during his Munich period. It had been acquired from the artist, who traded it to Rippl-Rónai for a Japanese woodcut.[61] Most likely the painting was already in Rippl-Rónai's possession and he chose to show off Szinyei's utterly precocious version of Impressionism. When the show opened, Tolnay was serving as the gallery's director when Viktor Molnár, a state secretary graced the opening.[62] He must have had to spend many evenings remaking the exhibitions[63] because within a week most of the rooms were producing orders and the applied art pieces had completely sold out and had to be replaced with new material.[64] Rippl-Rónai's role became increasingly important, not just because he probably rounded up a lot of the graphic work but also because he was named as the group's president in 1908.[65] Despite a strong ethos of favoring design originating in authentic Hungarian folk traditions, architect Géza Márkus (1872–1912) declared the exhibit "a discredit to its purpose [...] because what we see here is not unique, it's bad copies from Austrian and Viennese artistic groupings that have been countless times produced and countless times shown."[66] The attempt at imitating the commercial phenomenon of the *Wiener Werkstätte* was obvious to many observers.[67] The *Műhely's* goal, according to their catalogue, was to "make art without

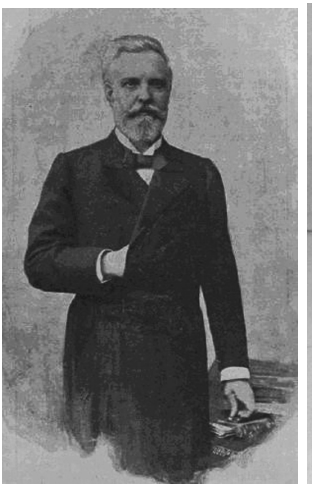
luxurious materials so that those of less material means could afford goods infused with artistic expression."[68]

After the success of this show, Tolnay moved on to stage a Spring collective exhibition, again with a large number of M.I.É.N.K. members: Vaszary, Csók, Magyar-Mannheimer, and Fényes.[69] At that point, as well, the *Uránia* began a more formal association with the *Műhely*. The original plan had the *Műhely* taking over the Royal *Bérpalota/Zinspalais* facility while the *Uránia* would move to the now vacant *Philanthia terem* at Váci utca 9. This space had served for staging important one-off exhibitions in 1906 and 1907 but had lost out on getting the KÉVE's first official show (it was held at the old *Nemzeti Szalon*), even though the forerunner (the Szablya-Frischauf School) had used it for their initial 1906 show. The *Műhely* group themselves were, at the same time, earning praise for their creation of an entire chapel at the Religious Art Exhibition.[70] They staged their second collective exhibition in the *Uránia* space at the peak December season in 1908.[71] In addition to graphic works by Rippl-Rónai, Ferenczy, Kernstok, Márffy, etc., the show featured porcelain from both the two leading manufacturers, Herend and Zsolnay.[72] Rózsa praised the furniture for being modestly priced, with a dining set (designed by Bálint Fejérkuthy) being offered for 1,500 korona and an entire bachelor's flat ensemble for 1,200 korona.[73] Strangely, at what should have been a moment of triumph, the *Uránia* appears to have entered a moment of crisis. In one article, the *Műhely* (operating at the Royal *Zinspalais* address) is described as having been acquired by the *Könyves Kálmán* as a sort of applied arts branch to its existing profiles in fine and graphic arts. The *Uránia* is simply described as ailing, dying, and dead, and the author attributes that to the fact that not much art was being sold, which was because of "managerial incompetence."[74] Tolnay now disappeared from further mention at the gallery, and soon from Hungarian art history altogether.[75] His disappearance was so complete that the *Index of Hungarian Artists* cannot even list the year of his death. By 1909 we know of only two more *Uránia* shows: one of sculptural works by Miklós Ligeti (1871–1944),[76] and another exhibition with Gulácsy, this time paired with Dezső Fáy (1888–1954).[77] This last show was conceived as a series of changing weekly themes, the first week being titled Verona Dreams.[78] The second week's theme, Biedermeier Merrymaking, brought in an elite crowd, including the mayor,[79] but was not considered as successful as its predecessor.[80]

By later 1909, the *Uránia* appears to have shut its doors, with its activity possibly subsumed into the *Könyves Kálmán*. Yet the example of this short-lived gallery helps to emphasize the *kamikaze* nature of Modern art promotion in this period. The opportunity given to Gulácsy and Márffy provided a genuinely vital opening for two painters who would eventually occupy seminal positions in the canon of Hungarian Modernism, but advancing the careers of promising artists and, at the same time profiting from the enterprise, continued to prove an elusive combination.

The *Eggenberger*

The *Uránia*'s location on Ferenciek tere added to a concentration of pre-existing enterprises in that neighborhood, none of them more time-honored than the *Eggenberger Műkereskedés* [art gallery]. After the Beleznay Ház was demolished in the sweeping reconstruction of Ferenciek tere, the old *Eggenberger* book shop split off its art business and moved it into its own gallery at Kecskeméti u. 3 in 1904. In this new incarnation, Budapest's oldest continuous publisher and book-selling enterprise remained one of the dominant fixtures of the print and map market up through the Second World War. Alfréd Hoffmann (1838–1905), a former assistant, had acquired the firm in 1863, and maintained its central role in the cultural life of Pest, with the bookshop serving as an "intellectuals' casino"[81] where leading artists of the 1860s and 70s, such as Károly Lotz and Bertalan Székely, would gather.[82] The *Eggenberger* published Székely's theories on drawing and painting in 1877,[83] and the artist was a frequent guest among the cultural elites who continued to gather at that extablishment.[84] Hoffmann occupied a highly regarded position in the cultural sphere, having organized the Hungarian Book-Dealers pavilion at the 1896 Millennium Exhibition and served as president of the Hungarian Book-Dealers Association.[85] Although the bookshop had always dealt in art, and often advised artists in market matters,[86] art had never been its primary profile but rather a line of products sold alongside books, like the series of plaster casts of Albert Pákh.[87] In 1904 Hoffmann's last major strategic move as the firm's director (he would die the next year)[88] dramatically increased its emphasis on art and established a designated *Műkereskedés* (literally: art dealership), which opened two weeks after



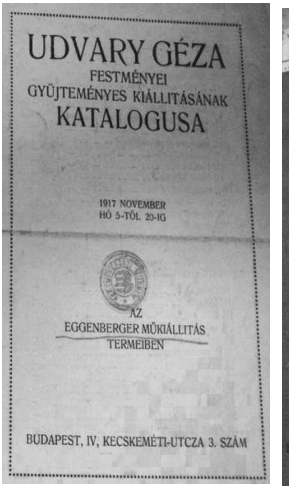


Fig. 4. 15. [Left] The Eggenberger firm's dynamic director, Alfréd Hoffmann, who established the free-standing gallery in 1904. Source: *Vasárnapi Ujság*, 1897, vol. 44, no. 9, 7. Fig. 4.16. [Middle] A catalogue from a 1917 Udvary exhibition. Source: *Udvary Géza festményei gyűjteményes kiállításának katalógusa*, Catalogue, 1917. Fig. 4.17. [Right] A 1923 art and antiques auction catalogue. Source: *Eggenberger Aukciói,* Catalogue, 1923.

Neogrády's show, which had been held just a 100 meters away in the Royal *Bérpalota/Zinspalais.*

The *Eggenberger* gallery sold a conservative line of painters drawn almost exclusively from among those who had already made their careers at the *Műcsarnok*: for example Antal Neogrády (1861–1942), Béla Spányi (1832–1914), and Ferenc Innocent (1859–1934).[89] In its first year of activity the *Eggenberger Műkereskedés* sold 122 artworks, each of which was reported, with its buyer, in the "Krónika" section of three separate issues of *Művészet* in 1905 (a trend that was repeated the following year). The gallery sold, for example, 15 paintings by Spányi in 1904, which would have brought that painter a considerable income since his oil paintings at *OMKT* averaged 1,300–1,700 korona each.[90] In fact, the 122 *Eggenberger* sales exceeded the sales at most *Műcsarnok* salons. In this sense, the *Eggenberger* served as an extension of the salon for its most fashionable painters. In 1905 and 1906 they continued to have large collective shows to open the Fall and Spring seasons.[91] By 1906 they had expanded the Kecskeméti utca premises to an upstairs floor, where they continued to show a collection of *Műcsarnok* stars,

with larger numbers of works by Spányi and the animal painters Béla Pállik and Géza Vastagh (1866–1919).[92] They also sent their star painter, Neogrády, to the Transylvanian town of Nagyvárad for a retrospective, where he again proved himself very popular with the general public.[93] The gallery continued to function through the First World War and well into the Interwar period, and like their competitor, the Ernst Museum, they expanded into auctions of antique art and secondary sales in the 1920s.[94]

Self-Staged Exhibitions

Since János Thorma had proven with the success his *Martys of Arad* in 1896 at the Wampetics restaurant that self-staged, self-promoted exhibitions were possible, other artists increasingly attempted to circumvent the strictures of the salon system and the limitations of the moribund gallery scene by going straight to the market. Rippl-Rónai emerged as a pioneer in this endeavor when he attempted to present a ten-year retrospective titled *Impressions of József Rippl-Rónai, 1890–1900,* which highlighted his *Nabis*-influenced work, largely produced in France. The artist had been a favorite of the highly influential Siegfried Bing, who honored him with the first solo exhibition at his *La Maison de l'Art Nouveau* (where the term for the period would originate) in Paris in 1897. Despite a good review in the *Revue Blanche*, which compared him favorably to the *Nabis,* the show met with a mixed response and did not provide many sales.[95] In 1900, Rippl-Rónai decided to abandon his ambition to become a big name in the much larger French art world and instead concentrate on his own domestic market. His close friend Aristide Maillol (1861–1944) commented, "Perhaps he hoped that things would work out better in Hungary. He could have succeeded in France because I believe he was very talented, but it would have taken long years, hard work, and a lot of patience."[96] Judging from the success Rippl-Rónai had had to date with Hungarian state purchases and the patronage of the Andrássy family, focusing on his local market made sense.[97] His Budapest solo show opened along the Great Ring Road on December 22, 1900. The catalogue included five different Hotel Royal introductions, including ones by leading critics such as Lyka and Dezső Malonyay (1866–1916).[98] Rippl-Rónai showed that he clearly understood the importance of putting his artwork in

its intellectual context, but the experiment did not pay any immediate returns. Virtually no one visited the show, and few works were sold.[99] The reactions ranged from the unkind to the uncomprehending, one of them describing his work as the last stage in decadence, after which there was only Nihilism.[100] In fact, the derision he received as a result of the show was comparable only to the scorn showered on that other pioneering exhibition of 1900, the *Visszautasítottak Szalonja* [Salon des Refusés].

After working for another two years, largely in Hungary, the artist tried self-promotion again and staged an exhibition at the Merkur Hotel on Váci utca in late 1902. Again, he relied on his friend Lyka for the catalogue introduction, but this time that was the only writing included except for Rippl-Rónai's own declaration that revenues from the exhibition (presumably the entrance fees collected) would go towards a Hungarian Teaching Boat, a rather muddled idea for a training center for Hungarian sailors that would also travel the world familiarizing foreign countries with Hungarian arts and crafts. Nonetheless, the scheme further indicates Rippl-Rónai's persistence in his role as his own personal impresario, this time coupling his exhibition with a charitable cause of national edification (though one which never materialized). The catalogue featured an astounding number of works, 318 in total, 155 of which had been produced in Hungary, all grouped according to the subject's location—the Pyrenees, France, Germany, and Flanders in addition to Hungary.[101] Critics were kinder on this occasion, but again few sales emerged from the show.[102] By 1904, most critics were still not won over to his work—"I would love to believe that this is art, but these pictures..."[103]—referring to his paintings as "bizarre."[104] However, his resilient self-confidence finally proved spectacularly successful in 1906, when he at last paired his talents with the first art gallery capable of sustaining concerted promotion of Modern art.

Rippl-Rónai's example would inspire other artists to attempt to circumvent exhibition institutions and bring their works directly to the public. The extremely popular painter of landscapes (often with contemplative females in them) Antal Neogrády, for example, took advantage of the newly completed Royal *Bérpalota/Zinspalais* at the vastly altered Ferencziek tere and Kígyó tér with the new approach to the Erzsébet bridge. His 1904 solo exhibition showed the potential of the building's large plate glass window displays right on this new thor-

oughfare. His great admirer Kézdi-Kovács praised the "finely decorated location" and "the elite society," especially the lovely ladies, some of whom may have served as his rose-cheeked models.[105] Very likely the event was promoted by the soon to open *Eggenberger Műkereskedés,* which was itself just relocating as a separate entity from the old bookshop.

In 1905 at the same location, János Hock's favorite, Ferenc Szikszay, attempted something on the same scale as his Paris rival, Rippl-Rónai, and staged his own massive retrospective. This was no modest undertaking for a thirty-four-year-old artist,[106] but Szikszay had already built a sterling résumé, having studied at the *Académie Julian* and been named as a *societaire* of the *Salon d'Automne* two years earlier.[107] Mourey had praised his works at the 1900 Paris World Exposition in the pages of *The Studio*, and he had shown at the Venice Biennale.[108] He and Hock had largely concocted the impressive 1901 *Nemzeti Szalon* International Exhibition through their own organizing skills.

Szikszay, in fact, wrote all the artist biographies himself. Writing about artists was a familiar skill to him, as he had often served as a correspondent reporting on the salons in Paris and the achievements of Hungarian artists at those venues.[109] As in 1901, the catalogue for his 1905 exhibition was a tour-de-force of self-promotion, and the

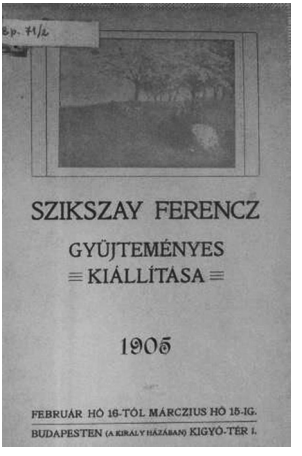


Fig. 4.18. [Left] The catalogue to Ferenc Szikszay's 1905 exhibition. Source: *Szikszay Ferencz gyüjteményes kiállítása*, Catalogue, 1905. Fig. 4.19. [Right] Ferenc Szikszay *The Jancsár Meadow*, 1893, from the collection of Princess Metternich (exhibited at the show). Source: *Szikszay Ferencz gyüjteményes kiállítása*, Catalogue, 1905.

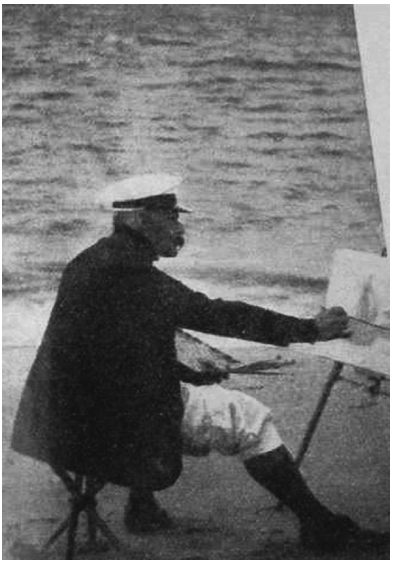
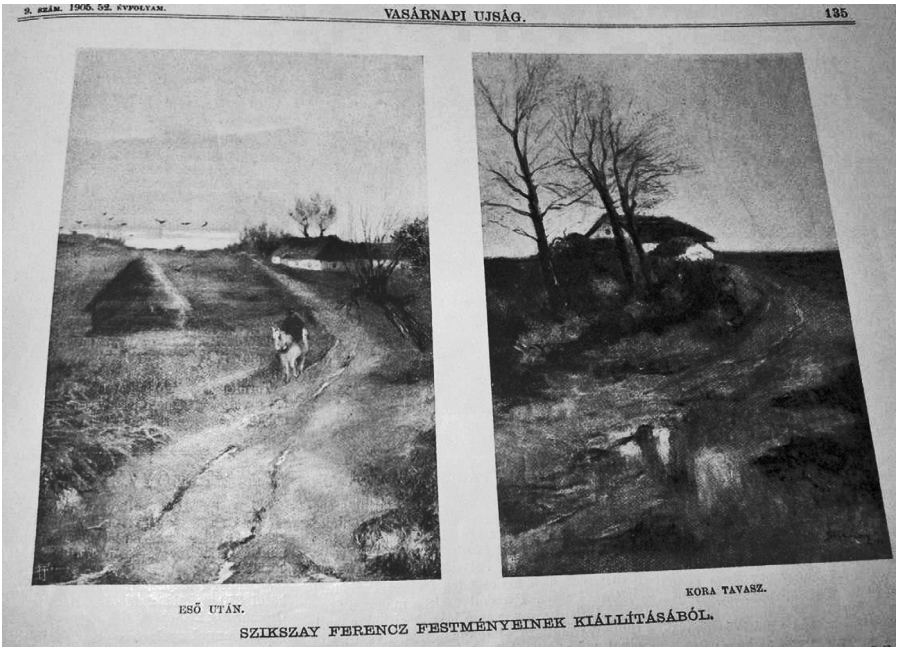


Fig. 4.20. [Left] The new Royal *Zinspalais/Bérház* where Szikszay had his 1905 exhibition. Source: *Vasarnápi Ujság,* 1905, vol. 52, no. 4, 100. Fig. 4.21. [Right] Szikszay painting *en plein air* at the French coast. Source: *Vasárnapi Ujság*, 1907, vol. 54, no. 6, 103.

quality easily surpassed that offered by the *Nemzeti Szalon* for their solo exhibition series of Modern Hungarian Masters (which Szikszay would surely have been among, had his patron, Hock, not been removed from his position of leadership). At this point, solo exhibitions were still a relatively rare occasion in Hungary, and none had really approached the level of Szikszay's efforts. His catalogue contained mirrored pages in Hungarian and French, with an introduction by Hock and also one by Clément-Janin, a critic for the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*. His artworks were listed in chronological order by year, with notation of the current owner. In fact, of this massive collection of 213 works, only 44 were actually for sale. The other 160 were already in very prestigious collections, including those of Count Andrássy, Minister of Culture Wlassics, Princess Pauline Clémentine von Metternich (1836–1921), Emil Gerbaud (1854–1919), Count Mihály Károlyi (1875–1955), and Countess Batthyány. As his career had only really begun in 1889, he was averaging sales of 10 paintings per year, and in his peak year, 1900, he had placed 18 works with elite collectors. The profile on him in *Vasárnapi Ujság* mentions that he rented a three-story villa in the elite suburb of Orsay outside Paris.[110] Szikszay could clearly afford to invest


9. szám. 1905. 52. évfolyam. VASÁRNAPI UJSÁG. 135

ESŐ UTÁN.

KORA TAVASZ.

SZIKSZAY FERENCZ FESTMÉNYEINEK KIÁLLÍTÁSÁBÓL.

Fig. 4.22. Two reproductions from the exhibit's extensive coverage in *Vasárnapi Ujság*. Source: *Vasárnapi Ujság*, 1905, vol. 52, no. 9, 135.

intensively in this exhibition, and he needed to. The transportation costs alone for gathering this quantity of material must have been horrific; and the catalogue featured 22 reproductions,[111] a quantity of images that would only have appeared in a major *OMKT* salon catalogue. The location, the Royal *Zinspalais* (in this case three large rooms on the Eskü tér side of the building),[112] was the same building Neogrády had used for his retrospective and the *Uránia* would use for its gallery a year later. Very likely, Szikszay's show had demonstrated the possibilities of the space to Tolnay and his group of investors. The exhibition represented an enormous marshalling of resources, with the overall purpose being less about garnering new sales than demonstrating his achievements and the high status of his admiring collectors. Szikszay appears to have perceived himself to be in a rivalry with that other recent returné from France, Rippl-Rónai. He wrote dismissively of the staging of Rippl-Rónai's 1897 exhibition at Bing's gallery: "the rooms are full of sick colors and otherworldly floral tapestries worked in, the furniture is the same way. [...] On cabinet tops, on an armchair cushion, or even on the floor: there are Rónai's paintings."[113] At the same

time that Rippl-Rónai was attempting to mark his arrival on the local market with his 1900 Royal Hotel show, Szikszay was surrounding himself with the stars of French painting at the *Nemzeti Szalon*'s 1901 International Exhibition. Neither's plan worked out as intended. For Szikszay, the retrospective at the Royal *Bérpalota/Zinspalais* represented a concerted second attempt to achieve universal adulation. He, like Rippl-Rónai, eventually made a third attempt (1907) under the aegis of the *Könyves Kálmán Szalon*, but with results dramatically different from his rival's.

Fülöp Szenes had already enjoyed a minor retrospective at the *Nemzeti Szalon* in 1905, though his was actually squeezed in with the regular Fall salon. It only featured 16 works, with one reproduction, and no introduction was written. Still, that honor alone boosted him into the stratosphere at a time when all the solo exhibitions in Budapest in a year might have totaled eight to ten. And altogether, in the preceding five years, there had only been 29 solo exhibitions, 26 of them at the *Nemzeti Szalon*.[114] In other words, Szenes had relatively successfully established himself as an artist, and so also felt confident that he could take his work directly to the market, though he intended to do so with considerably less overhead than what Szikszay had invested. His solution was to hold an exhibition in his own studio, which was widely promoted through the press. *Vasárnapi Ujsag* wrote, "The public definitely feels a great closeness to the artist in the intimate setting of his studio."[115] The article also warned, however:

"...the exhibition is definitely worth visiting, although any financial success that would come from it is burdened by the relatively high prices for the pictures. The Hungarian public needs to cautiously familiarize themselves with art collecting. High prices will only scare off potential art lovers."[116] For Szenes, though, portraiture and commissions for such were his primary revenue stream, and so the studio exhibition with its high prices could be seen as an exercise in prestige-building for his future sitters. Furthermore, Szenes may simply have been staging his own personal walk-out from the *Nemzeti Szalon* to protest the lower status he was accorded there, relative to Ernst's inner circle of favored Modernists. Szenes's own fortunes in the art world would rise together with those of his patron and ally, Kézdi-Kovács, and within less than five years he became a regular fixture on the *OMKT* jury.[117]

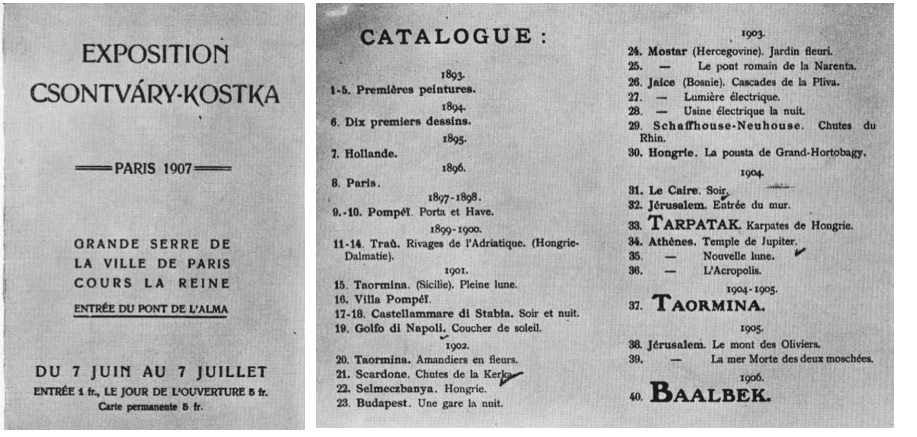
Coffee houses were increasingly experimenting with making themselves venues for exhibitions. The *Riviera Kávéház* was on the corner

Fig. 4.23. Fülöp Szenes in his studio. The photo was featured in *Vasarnápi Ujság* to promote his studio exhibition in February 1906. Source: *Vasárnapi Ujság*, 1906, vol. 53, no. 12, 190.

of Abonyi utca and Aréna út, not far from the *Műcsarnok* and in what still could be referred to as its perifery. In January 1908 it staged what was billed as a "small art movement" by allowing two artists who were regulars there, Rezső Burghardt (1884–1963) and István Klimó (1883–1961), to show approximately 40 works.[118] The following month, the *Baross Kávéház* (above which the *Nemzeti Szalon* held their inaugural show) put on an exhibition that promised artworks priced low enough to be affordable for the general public. Hugó Scheiber presented numerous landscapes and decorative works; Béla Zubreczky showed 20 Hungarian-themed pictures, and Gyula Rudnay (1878–1957) placed 11 graphics.[119] Among the many ideas circulating at that time was Jenő Radisics's proposal in 1909 that Hungarian art needed a permanent outlet in Paris, and he began raising money for the venture.[120] The project never got beyond the planning stage.

The least auspicious of all the self-staged shows of this period were the three put on by the auto-didact Tivadar Kosztka Csontváry (1853–1919). In 1905, after he had toured the Mediterranean, he briefly hung his massive canvases in the *Iparcsarnok* [Palace of Industry], a facility

that remained from the 1896 Millennium Exhibition and was more often used for exhibits of farm equipment and cement. The event lasted only a few days and only long enough to garner one slightly bemused review by Lázár: "These great undertakings are not in proportion to artistic preparedness. But the energy of his wildness is simply frightening, it almost sickens one."[121] By the time he put on his next exhibit in Budapest he had come to understand two lessons from the examples of Rippl-Rónai and Szikszay: 1) the artist needed to be presented as a conquering hero returning from Paris; 2) one needed exuberant press coverage by foreign reviewers. His second exhibit was therefore mounted in Paris. The 1907 catalogue for the *Exposition Csontváry-Kostka* at


EXPOSITION
CSONTVÁRY-KOSTKA

PARIS 1907

GRANDE SERRE DE
LA VILLE DE PARIS
COURS LA REINE

ENTRÉE DU PONT DE L'ALMA

DU 7 JUIN AU 7 JUILLET
ENTRÉE 1 fr., LE JOUR DE L'OUVERTURE 5 fr.
Carte permanente 5 fr.

CATALOGUE :

1893.
1-5. Premières peintures.
1894.
6. Dix premiers dessins.
1895.
7. Hollande.
1896.
8. Paris.
1897-1898.
9.-10. Pompéï. Porta et Have.
1899-1900.
11-14. Traû. Rivages de l'Adriatique. (Hongrie-Dalmatie).
1901.
15. Taormina. (Sicilie). Pleine lune.
16. Villa Pompéï.
17-18. Castellammare di Stabia. Soir et nuit.
19. Golfo di Napoli. Coucher de soleil.
1902.
20. Taormina. Amandiers en fleurs.
21. Scardone. Chutes de la Kerka.
22. Selmeczbanya. Hongrie.
23. Budapest. Une gare la nuit.
1903.
24. Mostar (Hercegovine). Jardin fleuri.
25. — Le pont romain de la Narenta.
26. Jaice (Bosnie). Cascades de la Pliva.
27. — Lumière électrique.
28. — Usine électrique la nuit.
29. Schaffhouse-Neuhouse. Chutes du Rhin.
30. Hongrie. La pousta de Grand-Hortobagy.
1904.
31. Le Caire. Soir.
32. Jérusalem. Entrée du mur.
33. TARPATAK. Karpates de Hongrie.
34. Athènes. Temple de Jupiter.
35. — Nouvelle lune.
36. — L'Acropolis.
1904-1905.
37. TAORMINA.
1905.
38. Jérusalem. Le mont des Oliviers.
39. — La mer Morte des deux moschées.
1906.
40. BAALBEK.

Fig. 4.24. 1907 catalogue for the *Exposition Csontváry-Kostka* at the *Grande Serre de la ville de Paris Cours*. Source: *Exposition Csontváry-Kostka*, Catalogue, 1907.

the *Grande Serre de la ville de Paris Cours la Reine*, which otherwise served as the home of the *Salon des Indépendents*, demonstrated that the artist had now made himself a name in France. As proof of the success of that venture, the catalogue for his subsequent 1908 Budapest exhibition quoted Pierre Weber, art critic for the *New York Herald*, as having said, "now every other painting in the world has been surpassed!"[122] The problem with the quotation is that Pierre Weber never wrote anything about Csontváry, and no article about his Paris exhibition ever appeared in the *New York Herald*.[123] More troubling, though, is that (other than Csontváry's own self-produced catalogue) there simply is no record of or any review of the Paris exhibition, though in theory it stood for a full month at a prominent venue. Csontváry be-

Fig. 4.25. The *Iparcsarnok* [Palace of Industry], site of Csontváry's first two Hungarian exhibitions. The building no longer exists. In its place in the *Városliget* [City Park] is now the *Petőfi Csarnok*. Source: Tivadar Dörre lithograph, *Budapesti Történeti Múzeum-Kiscelli Múzeum*.

lieved, however, that he had fulfilled the two criteria necessary to be a success at home.

For his second Hungarian exhibition Csontváry again rented the *Iparcsarnok*, and this time he presented all of his massive canvases. The catalogue even noted the square meterage of the largest ones: for example *Baalbek* (30m²) and *The Greek Theater of Taormina* (20m²). Critics took slighty more notice this time (two reviews rather than one) but were even more dismissive.[124] Clearly, they were unimpressed by the Paris-show tactics. Kézdi-Kovács sarcastically advised that anyone who doubted the quote from Weber should go to see the exhibition and further suggested that Csontváry be welcomed into the *M.I.É.N.K.* as a prodigal son.[125] Both critics who covered the show clearly viewed the Weber quote with suspicion and speculated that if such a thing had been said, then it was done in obvious mockery.[126] Árpád Feszty, who had made his own career with an enormous canvas (*The Cyclorama of the Arrival of the Hungarians*), sympathized with the obsessive painter, and after observing him sitting alone in the deserted hall waiting for visitors, schemed to have his rich uncle purchase a work. Much to his surprise, he found that the next day the artist had rudely sent the buyer away. Csontváry had no intention of selling any of the paintings.[127] According to Emil Pirchan, Csontváry claimed he would only sell all the pictures together, and the price would be 5 million korona.[128] Two

years later, he failed to successfully arrange an exhibition in Berlin but did exhibit in Budapest again, this time at the old Technical University. That space was described by another unfavorable reviewer as "6-8 bare rooms up on the 2nd floor."[129] Again, virtually no one visited, and Ferenc Herczeg (1863–1954) reported that when he did visit the exhibition, the unstable painter got into an argument with him.[130] And, of course, as was the artist's intention, no works were sold. Still, Csontváry's persistence may have actually paid off in some way, in that the public was at least aware of him. Twenty-five years later, after first having dismissed the artist, Lazár was to realize his mistake and arrange for a retrospective at the Ernst Museum, which initiated Csontváry's long, posthumous march toward becoming Hungary's most monetarily valued artist.[131] Charity purposes continued to be a central organizing principle for many who tried to hold exhibits outside of the main venues. As mentioned, Rippl-Rónai used the guise of a charity fund-raiser in order to move pictures, and others did as well. For example, Gusztáv Kőszegi-Brandl (1862–1908), self-staged a 1907 exhibition whose sales were to benefit the *Női Kézimunkát Értékesítő Klotild Egylet* [Klotild Association for Selling Women's Handwork].[132] An exhibition of Countess Nákó's oeuvre was held (twenty years after her death) at the *Iparművészeti Múzuem* [Applied Arts Museum] in 1906 to fund a soup kitchen and a children's hospital.[133] Rippl-Rónai returned to the tactic (which he first employed in 1903) with his modestly successful 1905 exhibition in his hometown of Kaposvár.[134] Sometimes the benefitting charity might be artists themselves, as was the case with the *Hazai Művásárlók Egyesülete* [National Art-Buyers' Association] Christmas painting raffle to advance the transfer of artworks, including, for example, a work by Gulácsy, to private collections.[135]

Soon after the success of his *Uránia* show, Márffy exhibited with future *Nyolcak* member Bertalan Pór at the *Philanthia terem* to benefit the *Országos Gyermekvédő Liga* [National Childrens' Welfare League].[136] The location, in József Hild's (1789–1867) neo-classical House of the Seven Electors (also built for the Nákó family), had been converted into the *Nemzeti* hotel in 1876, and in 1893 had had the courtyard glassed over to serve as the hotel's dining room.[137] When the hotel ceased operations, the building was converted into an apartment block,[138] and the glassed in courtyard lacked a clear function. In 1906 the *Philanthia* flower shop occupied a location on the Váci utca façade of the house, with Albert Körössy's (1869–1955) lyrical art nou-

veau façade and interior superimposed on the lower left corner of the neo-classical structure.[139] The flower shop also took over operation of the courtyard and seized the opportunity to turn it into an exhibition space. In addition to Márffy and Pór's charity show, the *Magyar Nők Művelődési Köre* [Hungarian Women's Cultural Circle], with the young, energetic Lajos Fülep (1885–1970) as curator, put on an exhibition of Viktor Erdei's(1879–1944) paintings, which would be compared to those of Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec (1864–1901).[140] The opening of this truly massive collection (200 works[141]) was cleverly timed to precede the grand opening of the new *Nemzeti Szalon*, only 200 meters away on Erzsébet tér. The new salon building was scheduled to be inaugurated with the controversial Modern Hungarian Artists—First Group Show only four days later, and the *Philanthia*'s location on Váci utca made for an easy detour over to see Erdei's work. Furthermore, the Gulácsy–Márffy show opened at the *Uránia* in the same month, helping to add to the area's cultural gravity, to the benefit of all three of these new venues.

The *KÉVE*

The first use of the *Philanthia* courtyard, in March 1906, was to exhibit 171 artworks by Ferenc Szablya-Frischauf (1876–1962) and students of his private art school. Student shows had been a frequent occurrence ever since Hollósy's group began showing in 1897, and the Drafting School/Academy was already holding yearly sales of student works at the Old *Műcsarnok*.[142] This show at the *Philanthia* would in fact serve to launch another grouping, to be known subsequently as *KÉVE*.[143] Szablya-Frischauf's school on Damjanich utca was located only a cou-

Fig. 4.26.The *Philanthia* flower shop façade in 2009 (completed 1906). Source: Author's photograph. Fig. 4.27. Interiors of the Szablya-Frischauf and students, exhibition. Source: Imre Belházy photograph, *Uj Idők*, 1906, vol. XII, no. 14.

ple of blocks from the Drafting School/Academy, and was the most prominent in a neighborhood of private art schools that included, for example, Tihamér Margitay's ladies art school on Városligeti fasor. The *Philanthia* on Váci utca made an excellent venue for their (and the hall's) inaugural exhibition and demonstrated the potential inherent in this ideally positioned location along a string galleries that ran from the new *Nemzeti Szalon* through the strolling zone of Váci utca (though not yet pedestrianized) and connected with the *Uránia* and the *Eggenberger* down at Ferenciek tere. In 1909 this location was further revived when the business partnership of Miklós Rózsa and Jenő Mihály Deák chose it for the first home of the *Művészház*.

The union of Szablya-Frischauf and his students formed one of the earliest groupings with a defined Modernist agenda, and that was perfectly visible to the critics: "This is the youngest, and in its theory, instruments, and directions the most modern of artists' groupings, and they are indeed talented and enjoy the full confidence of Ferenc Szablya-Frischauf. Disciplined, serious, and studiously avoiding excesses... These relative youths have defiantly turned their backs on the prestige-wreathed *Műcsarnok* or halls of the other racketeering *műintézet* [meaning the *Nemzeti Szalon*], and made for themselves their own Secession."[144] One of the most striking elements in the show's catalogue is the strong presences of female painters—13 of the 21 exhibiting artists were women![145] A year later, Szablya-Frischauf's group took a name for themselves, *KÉVE* [Sheaf], and begin planning another exhibition under this new appellation.[146] The group was formally founded around the end of October 1907, at basically the same time that the *M.I.É.N.K.* was founded, and so came into being just as the press was announcing the beginning of the Budapest Secession, though that term could have just as easily applied to either of these new groups. Instead of continuing to exhibit at the *Philanthia*, *KÉVE* struck a deal to use the old *Nemzeti Szalon* rooms in the *Cziráky* palace.[147] In this they borrowed a tactic from that earliest model of the artist grouping, the Hollósy School/Nagybánya group, which exhibited in the old *Műcsarnok* in 1897 after that facility had been abandoned by the *OMKT. Független Magyarország* reported: "Immediately after the *M.I.É.N.K.* comes the *KÉVE*. The members are all modern, young, pioneering artists on double-time. [...] They are just like the Red Caps, who with youthful zeal want to achieve laurels of honor with one bold move."[148] Kézdi-Kovács did not immediately dismiss them and even

suggested that perhaps they represented a "serious" artists' direction (a term preferred by his camp for their own kind). He does, however, also point out the most crucial consideration for the group's future viability, that the cost of renting the rooms in the Cziráky palace would surely render their experiment untenable.[149] It was probably his, if not outright sympathy, then lack of hostility that contributed to the group being able to use the new *Nemzeti Szalon* facility for their later exhibitions. The exhibition at the Cziráky palace conformed to another ideal of secession, in that the interior reflected the *Gesamtkunstwerk* ideal: "For the exhibition, they were able to secure the old *Nemzeti Szalon* on Kossuth Lajos utca. There they decorated tastefully in the Viennese style, with the whimsy of the Vienna Secession, and the whimsicality of simplified reproduction."[150]

Fresh from this success, the group launched a travelling exhibition to Germany, first to Düsseldorf, then Berlin, and Dresden. Membership was also expanded to welcome two of the stars of the 1908 *Visszautasítottak Szalonja*, Rezső Bálint (1885–1945) and Jenő Remsey (1885–1980).[151] The Düsseldorf show was referred to back in Hungary as a success, but in Berlin they drew some rather cruel reviews.[152] After

Fig. 4.28. [Left] Lajos Kozma was the most significant name to emerge at the second *KÉVE* exhibition, where he showed the full cycle of his illustrations for Béla Révész's collection of stories, *Találkozás Hamupipőkével* [Meeting with Cinderella]. Source: Author's collection. Fig. 4.29. [Right] Two advertisements from the catalogue from the *KÉVE's* second exhibition catalogue. Source: *1909 November hó: A "KÉVE" második kiállitása, "Nemzeti Szalon,"* Catalogue, 1909.

nearly a year's preparation, the group deftly took advantage of the *M.I.É.N.K./Nemzeti Szalon* rift to allow their own use of the venue in 1909 to seem like a gesture of tolerance by the *maradiak*, who were by now in full control of the institution's leadership.[153] The group probably also secured terms for exhibiting there that were linked to a commission on sales rather than the more market-based rents paid for the *Philanthia* in 1906 or the former *Nemzeti Szalon* rooms at the *Cziráky* palace in 1908. One of the immediate successes of the show came in the form of Béla Málnai's (1878–1941) white linen enclosed interior, with even the building's skylights shaded by light white canvas. The suffused light brought out the strident tones of their colorist palette, and what was actually a densely packed *Nemzeti Szalon* (432 works) appeared to be airy and spacious.[154] The most significant personality to emerge from this exhibition was Lajos Kozma (1884–1948), an architecture student who was a new member. His illustrations for Béla Révész's (1876–1944) collection of stories, *Találkozás Hamupipőkével*, were favorably compared to the works of Aubrey Beardsley (1872–1898), though Kézdi-Kovács rather considered him to be a slave to the Englishman.[155] Kozma continued to be the star of the movement until he split away to concentrate on the *Budapesti Műhely*,[156] his own attempted version of the *Wiener Werkstätte,* which he formed in 1913. By the Interwar period, Kozma had become Hungary's unrivaled giant in both architecture and furniture design, as well as a highly sought-after graphic artist. His arrival gave the *KÉVE* much-needed new blood, especially since a dominant overtone at the 1909 show was the tragic death of two of their most promising young painters, János Göröncsér-Gundel (1881–1908) and Ilona Máté (1887–1908). The former had disobeyed the career instructions of his father, the president of the Hungarian Association of Hoteliers and Caterers,[157] and instead joined his cousin Szablya-Frischauf's private art school. In the Spring and Summer of 1907, he spent an extremely productive period in the Tolna county town of Cikó, painting the local peasants and gypsies. On June 18, 1908, only two weeks before the opening of the *KÉVE*'s Düsseldorf exhibition, the twenty-seven-year-old Göröncsér-Gundel committed suicide.[158] The contemporary reports do not offer explanations for his action; perhaps in addition to the combination of insufficient sales and the risks of a German tour, he faced parental disapproval for his career choice. In any case, the Summer of 1908 proved tragic for Hungarian artists. The same issue of *Művészet* that reported

Göröncsér-Gundel's death also reported that Ferenc Szikszay had shot himself in Orsay.[159] The *KÉVE* suffered a second loss when Göröncsér-Gundel's fiancé, Ilona Máté, could no longer bear the grief and attempted to take her own life on September 20. She succumbed two weeks later, and was buried next to him in the Gundel family crypt.[160] A precocious twenty-one-year-old painter, she had been studying with Szabla-Frischauf since she was 14.[161] All the remaining oeuvres of both artists (Göröncsér-Gundel 48 works, Ilona Máté 42) were displayed in the last two rooms of the 1909 exhibition, with the proceeds going towards a Göröncsér–Máté foundation. The pricing serves as a useful indicator of the way death affected values: Göröncsér-Gundel's *Gypsy*

Fig. 4.30. [Left] Ilona Máté (1887–1908). Source: "Máté Ilona." *Művészet*, 1908, vol. VII, no. 6, 419. Fig. 4.31. [Middle] Her painting, *Nude*, 1908. Source: *1909 november hó: A "KÉVE" második kiállítása "Nemzeti Szalon,"* Catalogue, 1909. Fig. 4.32. [Right] János Göröncsér-Gundel (1881–1908), *Fairy Tale*, 1907. Both works were exhibited and reproduced in the catalogue (both were also already in private collections). Source: *1909 november hó: A "KÉVE" második kiállítása "Nemzeti Szalon,"* Catalogue, 1909

Girls, remained at 700 korona, the same price it had been offered at in the 1908 KÉVE I show, but both artists' graphics, drawings, and charcoals, which had been between 40 and 80 korona, were now 150 korona.[162] The entire exhibition benefitted from the human interest provided by the two tragically cutrailed careers, and all of the reviews made mention of this fact. Málnai's white interior, furthermore, added to the cathartic other-worldly ambiance of the setting. Göröncsér-Gundel's *Fairy Tale* has been widely reproduced and has helped to cement his stature as a briefly flickering genius of fine observation and poetic col-

orism. Máté's oeuvre was very small and exists only in a few reproductions, and she remains almost entirely absent from current art history.

KÉVE next took this show to the Vienna *Hagenbund*,[163] which had become, like the *KÉVE*, a sort of second-generation Secession with a strong focus on applied arts. This drive to expand beyond the limits of the Hungarian market had been long overdue, and many of the *M.I.É.N.K.* artists were showing at the Berlin Secession at the very same time (see Chapter 3). Similar secession-oriented societies from the Slavic regions of the Monarchy had been exhibiting at the *Hagenbund* for almost a decade by this time (*Mánes* from Prague, 1902; *Sztuka* from Crakow, 1908).[164] Arch-conservative Alfréd Lakos (1870–1971), revisited the tactic of employing foreign critics to validate his negative opinion of the *KÉVE* group. In this case, he quoted widely from the *Neue Freie Presse*'s correspondent, painter A. F. Seligmann, whose observations exactly echoed Lakos's own firmly held opinion: these artists where afflicted with a pathological need to imitate Cézanne, van Gogh, and Gauguin.[165] Lakos also drew attention to the pluralization of venues for the market in Modernism in Vienna, now represented, in addition to the Secession, by the *Kunstschau*,[166] the *Galerie Miethke*,[167] and also the *Hagenbund*.

Kozma's hand became much more apparent when the *KÉVE* held their third exhibition in 1911, again at the *Nemzeti Szalon*. He conceived of the catalogue as an artwork in and of itself, and it included an artfully designed 12-page calendar at the front, a peculiarly laid out index of the objects (193, less than half the previous number), and 18 high-quality photo reproductions. But from a business perspective, the *KÉVE*'s most innovative strategy may have been the further expansion of their advertising section. This catalogue contained 28 individual full-page ads, each done by Kozma (including ones for both his own interior design studio and Szablya-Frischauf's school).[168] Only the *OMKT* even remotely attracted this level of advertising, though their catalogues usually had only about half the *KÉVE*'s number of advertising pages (around 14). No other exhibition society or gallery made regular use of advertising as a means of funding catalogue production costs. This exhibition marked the high point of Kozma's involvement and the beginning of Szablya-Frischauf's removal from the group. Although he did produce the interior, together with Kozma, he exhibited nothing. The KÉVE continued to exist past the beginning of the First World War, holding the 10th anniversary Jubilee Exhibition in 1917. Reports covering it, however,

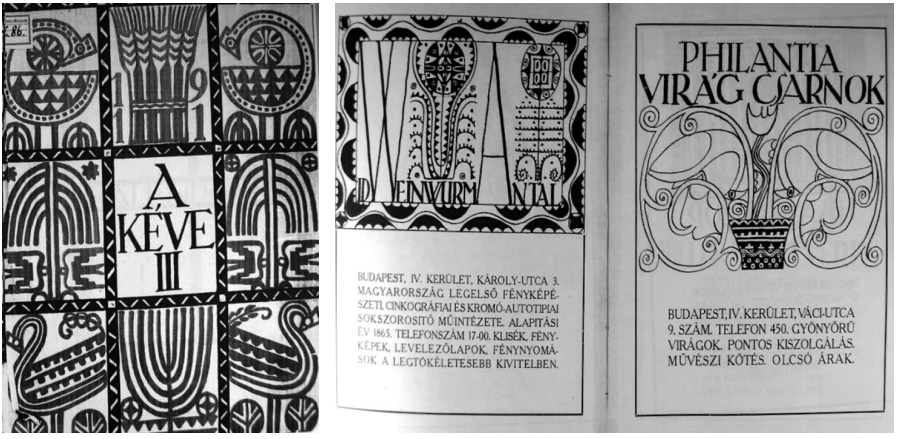


Fig. 4.34. [Right] Lajos Kozma's cover design and [Middle and Left] two advertisements for the third *KÉVE* exhibition catalogue in 1911. He, in fact, designed all the pages of the catalogue. Source: *A KÉVE III*.

pointed out how many of the movement's key figures were missing: Máté and Göröncsér-Gundel were dead; Szablya-Frischauf was no longer exhibiting; and Kozma had left to establish his *Budapesti Műhely*.[169] Throughout their exhibitions, starting with the 1906 *Philanthia* show, the *KÉVE*, more than any other movement, grouping, or gallery, embodied the fin-de-siècle concept of *Gesamtkunstwerk* by making even the tangential features of the exhibition into artworks. Their catalogues always noted the designer who created the interiors, the furniture-makers, as well as the advertisement illustrators.

The *Salon des Refusés* of 1908

With Kézdi-Kovács' consolidation of power at both the *Nemzeti Szalon* and the *OMKT*, combined with an again increasing maturation of waves of new students now entering the market (not just from the *Mintarajz* but also from the Applied Arts School and the numerous new private schools and academies) all the ingredients for another walkout were in place. In 1908 rejections were again reaching crisis proportions; the *Műcsarnok* rejected 1,000 of the 1,300 paintings submitted for that year's Spring salon,[170] and the scandalous rejection rate inspired a second *Visszautasítottak Szalonja* (*Salon des Refusés*). The rejected artists gathered at the *Lidó kávéház*.[171] They elected a sculptor, Géza

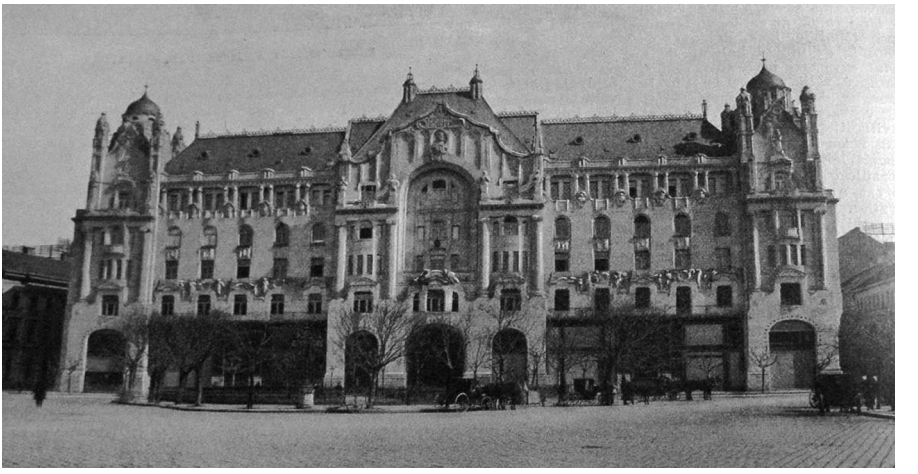


Fig. 4.35. The newly-built Gresham Palace, headquarters of the Gresham Insurance Company's Budapest headquarters. It was the location of the 1908 *Salon des Refusés*. Source: *Vasárnapi Ujság*, 1907, vol. 54, no. 11, 212.

Sós (1870–1918), as their president,[172] and the meeting was even joined, in a show of support, by more established painters like Mednyánszky and Feszty.[173] The artists agreed that their long-term goal would be to establish a jury-free organization.[174] To that end, they acquired use of an office space at the *Természettudományi Társulat* [Natural Science Society] on Károly körút, where regular inquiries could be received.[175] The Gresham Palace, a newly-built secessionist masterpiece, was chosen as the location for the salon.[176] The show lasted 20 days, from April 15 to May 5, and was open every day with a 50 fillér entry fee.[177] Though, as with the exhibit in 1900, most of their names would eventually be forgotten, more of the artists did acquire significant stature, among them Béla Kádár (1877–1956), Rezső Bálint (1885–1945), and Jenő Remsey (1885–1980).[178] The reaction in the press was noticably different from the reviews in 1900, with Dezső Malonyay (1866–1916) and Aladár Bálint (1881–1924) defending the *refusés* vigorously and taking great heart in their bravery to exhibit as *refusés*.[179] Géza Lengyel (1881–1967), in sympathy with the artists, stated unequivocally: "they did not deserve this [rejection from the *Műcsarnok*]."[180] By the end of April, the show had been seen by 4,000 visitors, including Viktor Molnár, the state secretary at the Culture Ministry,[181] and managed to sell works by 12 artists for 3,000 korona. An auction was planned for the final days in order to dispose of the remaining works.[182]

Printing in the Later Nineteenth Century

Since the early part of the nineteenth century, the one reliably successful pillar of art commerce had remained the mass production of images, and lithography and other reproduction techniques provided an essential revenue stream for the only successful and relatively long-lasting private gallery, the *Könyves Kálmán,* that actively exhibited modern art. The lithography business had made a slow recovery from the damage done by the upheavals of 1848–49. Many of the best lithographers had fled abroad: Szeremley had gone to England, Léván Vietorisz (1810–81) also had to go into exile, and Vince Grimm had fled with Lajos Kossuth to the Ottoman Empire. The Viennese émigré Ágost Frigyes Walzel was imprisoned in the *Új Épület* [New Building], the notorious military barracks on the northern edge of Pest, where the prime minister of the revolutionary government, Count Lajos Batthyány (1807–49), was executed.[183] Walzel's press (which had originally been Grimm's) was eventually acquired by the Légrády Brothers, who printed most of the Bach period's [1849–59][184] most significant lithographic works, particularly those by Barabás, Marastoni, Szemlér, Elisher, Giehsz, Ede Pesky (1835–1910), and Rudolf Grimm (1832–85).[185] Many of the most successful works of that time were portraits of revolutionary heroes, and the merchants often sold them discreetly under the table. Images of Széchenyi and Kossuth were extremely popular, as were those of the Italian general Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807–82) later.[186]

An essential stimulus to the revival of the printing business should have come from the *Pesti Műegylet* exhibition society, which re-started in 1853 and began issuing a yearly lithograph of a Hungarian painting to all of its supporters. In keeping with the ongoing critique that that organization lacked Hungarian patriotism, however, the local critics noted that these native artworks were still printed at Western European presses abroad like Lemercier, Hanfstaengel, and Charpentier, and their quality was no better than the usual low caliber of wares to be found at Wagner, Rózsavölgyi, and Trechlinger.[187] In the face of such criticism, the *Műegylet* attempted to have their 1860 graphic printed in Pest, but could come to no agreements with any local printers, and so commissioned a Viennese copper-plate engraver instead.[188] In its last years, the society returned back to lithography for printing seminal historical works such as Madarász's *Ilona Zrínyi at the Munkács Castle*, which was printed at Lemercier's in Paris. That choice was explained

by saying that Madarász was in Paris at that time, and so could best oversee the process there.[189]

The new *Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat (OMKT)* was able to emphasize its own Hungarianness by employing local presses to produce the complementary prints they distributed to their membership. In many cases, for example Sándor Wagner's *Queen Isabella Saying Goodbye to Transylvania*, the artist himself drew the image on the stone, and these works were printed at Pest presses like Leitner, Kunossy, and Réthy.[190] When the artist Gusztáv Keleti (1834–1902) was commissioned to prepare his works for the lithographers, he was paid 250 forints for each composition.[191] This example gives an impression of the very generous wages for this kind of work. In fact, both the engraving of lithographic stones and also the rights to images for reproduction had come to provide artists with an important revenue stream to supplement their painting sales. Although the rates paid to the artists who produced the images had risen somewhat since the first half of the century, overall they had not improved significantly, primarily because a rising market for graphics was counter-balanced by larger print-runs and an expanded pool of talented artists. In 1833, the master portraitist Miklós Barabás received three to six gold pieces (24–48 forints) for making an engraving.[192] By the 1860s and 1870s rates had risen to 30 forints for small prints for periodicals and 50–60 forints for a larger graphic.[193] Overall, this represented probably only an annual rate of one to two percent wage growth for the artist working in lithography.[194]

The *Könyves Kálmán Szalon* and Rippl-Rónai's Auction

The *Könyves Kálmán Műintézet* [Art Institute] evolved, like so many of its predecessors, from the trade in book publishing and distribution, and from there entered into the field of art reproduction.This model linking printing and art dealing proved to be one of the most stable and successful ones because of its ability to create both a horizontally integrated revenue stream that included text printing and image printing and also a vertically integrated production and distribution method for art works. The latter involved both spurring interest in artists by exhibiting their original works and mass marketing their images in reproduced form. In 1891 the Könyves Kálmán press, was

formed as a share-holding company to print and sell books. It took the name from a medieval Hungarian monarch (King Colomann I), a noted bibliophile.[195] The original focus was on literary publishing, with both the headquarters and their retail bookstore located at Kerepesi út [today's Kossuth Lajos/Rákóczi út] number 19. As a result of economic difficulties, the firm was reorganized in 1898 and two managers from the Révai Testvérek Irodalmi Intézet Rt., Ödön Révai and Géza Horváth, took control of the firm.[196] The Révai firm had already made a name for itself in the cross-pollination between literary and visual arts when they published József Kiss' poems with illustrations by the new Nagybánya group, and it was at the Révai press that János Hock first saw the Nagybánya group's work and became their early defender. The new management at *Könyves Kálmán* began to push the firm away from the saturated book market and to seek other cultural products for mass distribution. The roles of Révai and Horváth remain unclear regarding how much they guided the institute's foray into the graphic arts, but along with the editors of their print catalogue and newsletter, Ödön Gerő (1863–1939) and Géza Petrik (1845–1925) respectively, they would appear to have been its instigators and stage-managers. Simply no other names emerge, and this absence of a well-known public impresario who played both gate-keeper and promoter sets the *Könyves Kálmán Műintézet* apart from the other new institutions of the early twentieth century. Even the exhibition catalogue introductions, some of them three to four pages long, are often unsigned.[197] The most likely candidate for the force behind the firm's artistic management would be the Révai family themselves, since they were known to have been significant collectors for over a decade by this time. They also showed a willingness to accept advice from critics and impresarios, particularly from Béla Lázár, whose signature on his introduction of the László Paál exhibition might hint at his role as an advisor to the firm.[198] Overall though, it remains something of a mystery who made the bold decisions to back modern tendencies even before the *Nemzeti Szalon* or any other entities had taken up the cause.

The share of *Könyves Kálmán*'s production devoted to the graphic arts rose steadily until that sector came to dominate their entire output. The earliest extant graphic work by the firm is dated to 1898.[199] By 1905, the firm had achieved a near monopoly on the printing and distribution of graphic arts, with *Művészet*'s "Hazai Krónika" proclaiming:

> It appears that here [in Hungary] only one multi-faceted larger-scale art gallery has come into existence which is capable of dealing in the rights to reproduce original artworks and the intensive production of pictures, prints, and sculptures. For this there is only one firm, the *Könyves Kálmán*.[200]

The only institution producing graphic reproductions on a comparable scale was the *OMKT* in the form of the complementary prints distributed to their supporters. The difference between these two main distributors of mass produced artworks corresponds closely to how each reflected the economic transformation that the art market was undergoing at the turn of the century. The idea of giving prints to dues-paying members of art societies went back to the mid-nineteenth century and the *Pesti Műegylet*, and the *OMKT* carried that tradition forward into the twentieth century. Choosing the honored painting remained a committee-style jury decision, with all the inherent problems of cliques and *protectió* that afflicted the selection of the salon's content. This method of distribution created a situation in which the public's tastes were "managed" from the top down and determined yet again by an elite labor aristocracy. The advent of the *Könyves Kálmán* in the 1890s served as another indicator of the infiltration of capitalist tendencies into the art market. The *Könyves Kálmán* chose their product line informed by previous sales of their prints, and thus tastes were market-driven and managed from the bottom up. Another important distinction between the institutions lay in their chosen method of transference. For its part, the *OMKT* primarily used lithography and copperplate. But by the 1850s a method of photo-based etching had begun to appear on the Hungarian market, particularly in the field of portraits,[201] and by the 1880s the process of heliogravure had become a common alternative to lithography and copper-plate. The *Könyves Kálmán* worked almost exclusively in these more modern, optically-produced graphics which primarily employed two techniques: aquarelle-facsimile technique (with pieces ranging in price from 50–142 korona) and heliogravure (slightly more expensive, with price ranges of 50–200 korona).[202] Prints were often designated by their number of colors, ranging between 17 and 28, and premiums were paid for the early numbered pieces for certain celebrated editions.[203] For lower quality products, the *Könyves Kálmán* used a three- and four-color raster transfer method, as well as photographic copies.

The firm also sold lithographs, though this product line was never a large part of their profile.[204]

The *Könyves Kálmán* remains remarkably difficult to define in terms of being either Modernist or traditionalist, and this elusiveness is owed, in the end, to the firm's capitalist principles and its willingness to promote whatever sold. For example, in 1904, the same year that the firm held the first exhibition of so-designated Modern artists in its gallery space, their catalogue of print offerings reflected an almost exclusively *Műcsarnok* version of Hungarian art. Their regular publication, *Kiváló műlapok jegyzéke* [Index of Great Art Prints], was printed from 1901 to 1914,[205] and was distributed free of charge. The inside cover even recommended that the volume be distributed to other art lovers and offered to send a copy to anyone who requested one, again free of charge.[206] This catalogue of available prints ran to over

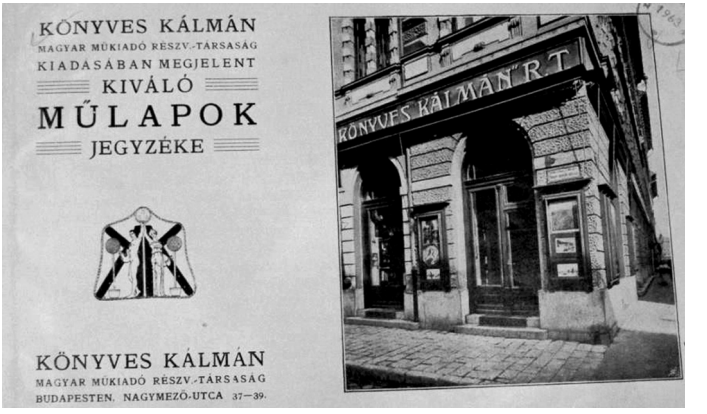


Fig. 4.36. Cover-page of the *Könyves Kálmán* Index of Great Art Prints with a view of the Nagymező utca shop front. Source: *Kiváló műlapok jegyzéke* (Budapest: Könyves Kálmán Magyar Műkiadó Részv.-Társaság, 1905).

100 pages and served a far wider purpose than simply marketing printed products. The Index served as a rough-draft canon of who's who and what's what in Hungarian painting. Free and widely distributed, it featured works that largely corresponded to the *OMKT*'s aesthetics. The most widely promoted genre was historical painting, followed by religious works, which were the only variety to feature foreign artists such as Raphael Sanzio (1483–1520), Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1617–1682). Among the most prominent of the historical works were Benczúr's *Retaking of Buda Castle*, and

Árpád Feszty's series *Árpád and the Chieftains* and *Sacrifice to the War God,* as well as the entire *Cyclorama of the Arrival of the Hungarians*, which had been exhibited originally at Heroes' Square at the time of the Millennium Exhibition, and not far from another historical picture that *Könyves Kálmán* also reproduced, János Thorma's *Martyrs of Arad* (see Chapter 3). Several works by Mihály Munkácsy also appear, including his *Arrival in the Homeland,* which was painted for the new Parliament, and the famous trilogy from the Passion, *Ecce Homo, Christ before Pilate,* and *Golgotha.* Genre paintings were also represented, whether of a peasant orientation, like Sándor Bihari's (1855–1906) *Before the Judge* and *His Song*, or of a more cosmopolitan type, like the courtship paintings of that conservative early founder of the *Nemzeti Szalon*, Tihamér Margitay. Seeking slightly more risqué topics, one could find Gyula Tornai's (1861–1928) sexually charged Orientalist scenes, Lajos Márk's *femme fatales*, and master fresco-painter Károly Lotz's erotic nudes.

The catalogues featured a few painters who might eventually be defined as Modernist, but they almost all arose from the first generation, and the works that were offered were not particularly the most challenging. For example, in the 1905 Index, of the Modernists included only Szinyei Merse's work, which received sizeable attention, with most all of his seminal paintings reproduced. One work each was offered by the following painters: Ferenczy (*Joseph Sold by his Brothers*),[207] Károly Kernstok (*Christ with the Youth of Emaus*), József Rippl-Rónai (*View of the Castle Gardens*), Adolf Fényes (*Schoolchildren*), and János Vaszary (*Sharecroppers*). Of the 253 graphic works in that Index, only 16 (11 of them by Szinyei) could be categorized as having been done by Modernist artists—less than 6% of the total offerings. The most honored artwork in the 1905 Index was Benczúr's *Millennium Tribute*, which was accompanied by pages of quotations from critics praising the painting. This kind of adulation from the market only helped to reinforce the unassailable position Benczúr had attained both at the Salon and among the critics. The *Könyves Kálmán*'s decision to focus on his artwork reflected their acknowledgement of Benczúr's aesthetics as the most marketable. By 1914, little had changed from the earlier ratios. The catalogue contained 397 graphic works, of which 28 were by Modernist painters (20 were by Szinyei-Merse), or an increase from 6% to 7% of total offerings.[208] Rippl-Rónai still only had one work featured, which, given his successful auction in 1906 and the fact that *Könyves Kálmán* had also published a collection of 50 of his

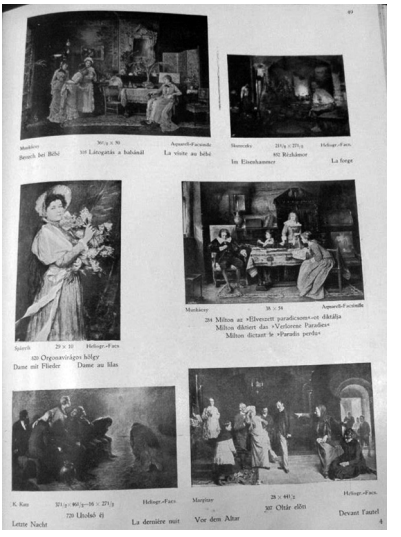


Fig. 4.37. A page from *The Index of Great Art Prints* from 1914 with genre pictures by Munkácsy, Skuteczky, and Margitay. Source: *Kiváló műlapok jegyzéke* (Budapest: Könyves Kálmán Magyar Műkiadó Részv.-Társaság, 1914).

drawings,[209] reflects a significant disconnect between the reproductions department and the gallery.

A similar, though slightly more favorable esthetic cosmology was reflected in the art institute's publication of *Magyar Festők* [Hungarian Painters] in 1908, edited by Dr. Elek Koronghi Lippich (1862–1924). It included 48 high-quality heliogravures from 48 artists, each with an introductory study. Of the the artists featured, 11 were among the Modernists who would take part in the *M.I.É.N.K.* exhibitions at the *Nemzeti Szalon*;[210] this reflects 24% of the total, an improvement over the Index itself. At the back of each catalogue was a long order form, which was readily detachable for quick purchase, and preceding it was a selection of available

Fig. 4.38. Benczúr's *Millenáris hódolat* [Millenium Tribute]. Offered in specially numbered and signed editions. Source: *Kiváló műlapok jegyzéke* (Budapest: Könyves Kálmán Magyar Műkiadó Részv.-Társaság, 1914).

framing options, with designs from the leading cabinet makers of the period such as Pál Horti (1865–1907) and Ede Wigand.[211]

The *Könyves Kálmán*'s ability to rank and canonize artworks extended to sculpture as well as the graphic arts. They began producing small works in 1900, their first attempt having been an adaptation of a humorous genre scene by Ede Telcs (1872–1948) into a mass-produced relief work by Ede Kallós (1866–1950).[212] The firm soon began selling both small scale bronzes and eosin-glazed ceramics from the Zsolnay factory.[213] The sculptor who was most associated with the *Könyves Kálmán* was József Róna (1861–1939), whose bronze foundry regularly supplied the Institute with works that often accompanied the contemporary art exhibitions. Later, in 1912, they added a line of small bronze copies of the world's most famous sculptures, including the *Dying Gaul* and *Apollo Belvedere.*

The Nagymező utca location, which opened in 1903, really does deserve the title of Hungary's first permanent regular market for art. Their galleries were open every day of the week, and unlike the *Műcsarnok*, the *Nemzeti Szalon*, or even the later *Művészház*, they did not charge

Fig. 4.39. The main gallery [left] and the small gallery [right] at the Nagymező utca location, opened in 1903. Source: *Kiváló műlapok jegyzéke* (Budapest: Könyves Kálmán Magyar Műkiadó Részv.-Társaság, 1904).

money to view their collection or their exhibitions. After the successful auction by Rippl-Rónai, the gallery was further expanded. A significantly-sized office and archive was also necessary for managing the distribution and transportation of so many artworks. Furthermore, the gallery operated a very comfortable and up-to-date reading room where one could peruse 26 of the leading international art journals of the day, including *The Studio, Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration,* and even a Japanese journal, *The Kokka*, which exerted a huge influence on the post-Impressionist generation of artists.

Fig. 4.40. The archives and office of the *Könyves Kálmán* from 1903. Source: *Kiváló műlapok jegyzéke* (Budapest: Könyves Kálmán Magyar Műkiadó Részv.-Társaság, 1904).

The *Könyves Kálmán* entered the field of contemporary art exhibitions much the same way it entered the graphic arts business: indirectly and not as a result of a clearly defined economic strategy. The firm had, in fact, been dealing in a large number of wares since the 1890s, primarily as a means to complement their displays of graphics and sculptural works. Originally, in 1900, the firm had provided a retail space where art works not sold at the *OMKT*'s regular salons could be placed on sale in a sort of remainders bin.[214] The firm also made forays into charity-type auctions,[215] as well as working together with the *Szent György Céh* [Guild of St. George], which served as a guarantor and organizer of auctions of antique items and secondary market artworks.[216] This attempt to deal in both living and dead artists, though, seemed to be short-lived, and secondary market sales never became an important part of the firm's profile. The new Nagymező utca location, which opened in 1903, provided superior quality gallery space, the caliber of which had not yet been seen in the private market. The press gushed about the new addition to the art scene:

> The *Könyves Kálmán* has brought into being the "First Hungarian Art Salon" at its Nagymező utca retail location in November of 1903. The initiative has indeed brought about positive commentary. At first glance, it isn't even obvious what a huge service the Institute has done

> for the cultured public of Hungary, and from a practical point of view how much it has cleared the path for the spread of artistic taste. In addition to providing significant Hungarian artists' original works in a way by which those of limited means can afford them through *installment payments,* the gallery also makes this kind of art accessible because the exhibition is permanent and free.[217]

Almost immediately, the contemporary art gallery made bold moves toward Modernism, which was entirely at odds with the aesthetic orientation of their printing business. The most important of these exhibitions was the Modern Hungarian Painters show, which featured most of the same artists who would create such a scandal three years later at the *Nemzeti Szalon*. When it opened, *Művészeti Krónika*, a new *Könyves Kálmán* publication, noted the novelty of having Modern artists displayed without having to be balanced out with more conservative works, and how this was also different from a solo exhibition because here the works complement one another.[218] That eternal opponent of Modernist tendencies, László Kézdi-Kovács, noted that it was perhaps "the first totally modern Hungarian art exhibition," and declared this exhibit to be "the Hungarian Secession."[219] In a tactic that would be revived in Rippl-Rónai's exhibition and auction in 1906, "prices of the artworks have been reduced to the absolute minimum."[220] Furthermore, the Institute began promoting Hungarian Modernist art abroad even before it did so at home,with the first incarnation of this grouping having been a 1903 series of shows, first in Vienna at the *Salon Pisko*, and at the gallery of Pietro del Vecchio in Leipzig, and finally in Hamburg.[221] Connections with German art dealers remained close, and in 1908 the giants of the Berlin Secession, Max Liebermann, Lovis Corinth (1858–1925), Walter Leistikow (1865–1908), and Max Slevogt (1868–1932), were shown at the *Könyves Kálmán*. Liebermann's *Sampson and Delilah* was offered for 72,000 korona. It was the most expensive painting ever offered in Budapest by a living painter in the preceding four decades, and the highest price to be seen to date at a private gallery.[222]

The Institute never lost its peculiarly even-handed balance among the competing art factions. After the huge financial success of the Rippl-Rónai exhibition and auction in 1906, the *Könyves Kálmán*'s share was reportedly 12,000 korona.[223] With those profits, the Institute hired the architects Bálint and Jámbor to re-model the interior so that the public could enter their exhibition salon directly from the street.[224]

The architects' work was described as having transformed a bleak exhibition hall into an exceptionally first-rate interior. The first exhibition to be held in the new space paid for by Rippl-Rónai's success was of works by his greatest detractor, László Kézdi-Kovács—another fine example of the gallery's ability to balance the Modern and the *Műcsarnok* artists, one right after the other. Kézdi-Kovács' work itself would be deemed a less than adequate complement to the new interior: "his lukewarm art, living on routine, doesn't quite make nearly such an effect [on collectors]. [...] We don't believe that this [artwork] is going to excessively excite the picture-buying public."[225]

In early 1907, Ferenc Szikszay was given a chance to imitate his rival Rippl-Rónai's sucess and was given his own solo show. Szikszay had continued to exhibit in Paris during the first decade of the twentieth century, but the reports back to Budapest increasingly gave his achievements second billing compared to Ödön Márffy's rising star.[226] This time the catalogue was significantly more modest than the one for his 1905 self-staged show at the Royal *Zinspalais*, with only 20 pages and 3 reproductions. It contained only his own rather poetic and self-aggrandizing introduction, and the entire exhibition included only 87 works, of which 39 were for sale. The other 48 works, as with his previous show, were already owned, with their owner's names proudly noted—five were owned by his old patron, János Hock. Other Szikszay collectors included the Fine Arts Museum, the Szeged Art Museum, Gyula Wolfner (1868–1944), Count Dénes Almássy (1863–1940), and Emil Gerbaud of the famous patisserie.[227] The items for sale were primarily oil paintings, with not particularly high asking prices. The total value of the works for sale was only 17,770 korona, an average asking price of 455 kr. The show failed to produce much response in the press, and what there was was tepid:

> This exhibition is neither better nor worse than the usual local exhibition. It follows the great evolution of artistic forms, but does not take them a single step forward. The usual forms, colors, artistic problems, for better or worse, were more or less solved. This collection is the painter's personal issue—business; we, who know the evolution of artistic forms, thirst for new forms—and we thirst.[228]

The show was up for only a brief two weeks (February 8–22) and came at the beginning of a much-anticipated season, having to compete

with the ongoing Mihalik show at the *Uránia* (which would be followed by the Gulácsy/Márffy), and the Erdei at the *Philanthia*. Furthermore, a huge amount of attention was being paid to the anticipated First Group Exhibition, curated by Ferenczy, that would open the new *Nemzeti Szalon* on Erzsébet tér at the end of the month. As Hock's ally and protégé during 1900–01, and especially because of Mourey's article in *Pesti Hírlap*, Szikszay had made enemies both among the Benczúr establishment and the Modernist camp, and he had very little base of support outside of Kézdi-Kovács. After the 1907 exhibition, his stature in the French press remained strong; one article in *Budapesti Hírlap* mentioned that *Le Temps* had declared: "In the painting of the sky, the sea, and the coast, there is some kind of charm or magic in his brush, and in the near future he shall achieve glory."[229] Another review from a Paris-based Hungarian correspondent stated that his *Return of the Fishermen* and *Monte Pelegrino* had earned admiration from the [French] critics.[230] Clearly, however, his stature as the pre-eminent Hungarian-in-Paris was continuing to fade. In 1908 other Hungarians would, for the first time, also attain his rarified position as *sociétaire* to the *Salon d'Automne*.[231] On July 18, 1908, a year and a half after his underwhelming show at the *Könyves Kálmán,* Szikszay shot himself in the head at his villa in Orsay.[232]

As yet another example of the institute's balance, the *Könyves Kálmán* actually hosted the young refugee painters fleeing from Kézdi-Kovács' take-over of first the *OMKT* and then, quite spectacularly, the *Nemzeti Szalon*. The show featured 30 artists, many of whom had already been experimenting with new exhibition locations, like Gulácsy, Márffy, Erdei, András Mikola (1884– 1970), and József Egry (1883–1951). The title of the exhibition *Ifjúság* [Youth] was pointed out by one commentator as the only thing they had in common;[233] though another said the exhibit was all Impressionism because they had all clearly learned it from Rippl-Rónai. Géza Márkus (1872–1912) regarded the show with great optimism: "Today we saw art, from a few people. *This* is the Spring. *This* is youth, and not the slapped-on ornamentation of the *Nemzeti Szalon*." And, he gladly pointed out, "the jury has not chosen them, and they exhibit without state support, but this says more than all that was shown to the crowds at the Winter salon."[234]

Among the *Könyves Kálmán*'s most significant exhibitions from an art historical perspective would be the 1909 show titled *New Pictures*, featuring the painters Róbert Berény (1887–1953), Dezső Czigány

(1883–1937), Béla Czóbel (1883–1976), Bertalan Pór, Károly Kernstok, Ödön Márffy, Dezső Orbán (1884–1986), Lajos Tihanyi (1885–1938).[235] This group had been calling themselves the *Keresők* [The Seekers], but would be known to posterity as the *Nyolcak* [The Eight]. They were essentially the younger stratum of painters from the *M.I.É.N.K.*, led by one elder, Károly Kernstok, who had grown frustrated with the battles with the *Nemzeti Szalon*'s leadership and turned to the commercially-oriented *Könyves Kálmán* to host their exhibition. If the *Művészház* had opened a bit earlier, they likely might have shown there, but the very fact that they could choose between galleries testifies to the increasing competitiveness of the market in venue space. The exhibition itself was not large, featuring just 32 major works, plus drawings.[236] Kézdi-Kovács simply dismissed it as the Kitch Exhibition [*Giccs-kiállítás*].[237] Kernstok insisted at the opening: "We live in a different world than everyone else; those who can understand us, follow us into our own world."[238] György Lukács (1885–1971) published his seminal essay *Az utak elváltak* [The Paths Have Diverged] regarding this exhibition. It captured the heightened confrontation in this newly emboldened *avant-garde*:

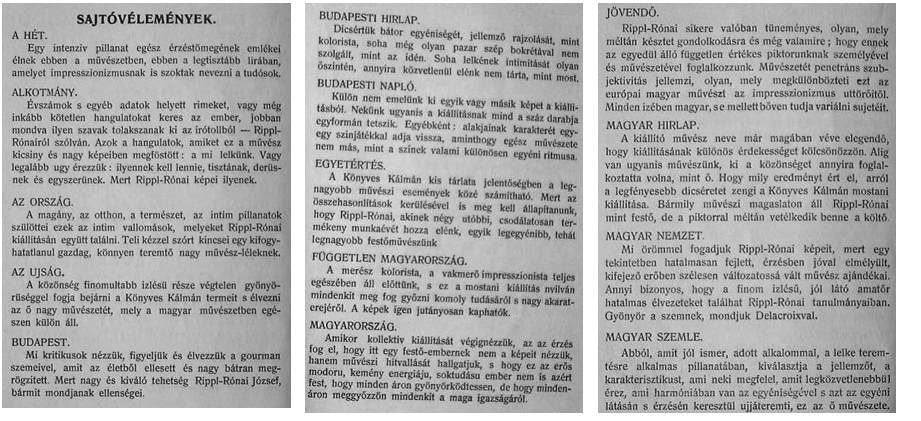
> These pictures represent a battle. But it is an entirely different type of battle than the numerous 19th-century "artistic movements" and "secessions." Then it was just a new "point of view" opposing an old "point of view," a new way of seeing opposed to an old one. People found that the old "point of view" was worn out, and a new one had to be found, or otherwise people simply grew bored of looking at things in the same way. And then came the new style of seeing, a new "direction," and the two directions clashed with one another, until a third came along, and then another, which allied with the first against the second in a perpetual comedy.
>
> This is about something else. This is not about differences, but about opposites; they do not oppose each other because of their direction, but for the possibility of existence. This is not about validating a new art, but rather an old art, a resurrection for art, and a life and death struggle with the crucifying opponents of modern art.[239]

That an exhibition exciting this level of confrontation could co-exist with a firm whose primary revenue stream came from the sale of heliogravures of Benczúr's *Millennium Tribute* testifies to the incredible agility of the *Könyves Kálmán*'s esthetic juggling act.

From a market perspective, though, it was undoubtedly Rippl-Rónai's 1906 solo exhibition and subsequent auction that had the farthest reaching repercussions and proved that Modern art could be highly profitable when conforming to a production and distribution method that bears a curious resemblance to industrialization. As the opening approached, critics were still uncertain whether the public could stomach Rippl-Rónai's novelty: "it's so new, so extremely original that, there are certainly going to be many among the public who see this as a joke."[240] "For hardly any other artist does the criticism of his work so clearly depart from the public's opinion of it."[241] The artist himself, however, could see that even as the show was opening, his fortunes had finally turned around:

> It appears, we can hope, that the future will be ours... everybody's talking about the exhibition, arguing and fighting. Of course there are some anti-artists, but many fewer, and many more friends. In addition to that, the government will even exert itself. I've had to refresh the exhibition space three times. They want the new products as well. At the same time, they will suddenly buy now what three and six years ago they wouldn't even respect. Things have turned around. Tastes will become modern.[242]

This time Rippl-Rónai completely eschewed circulating any pre-arranged introductory texts. Instead, by the close of the exhibition over



SAJTÓVÉLEMÉNYEK.

A HÉT.

Egy intenziv pillanat egész érzéstömegének emlékei élnek ebben a művészetben, ebben a legtiszább lirában, amelyet impresszionizmusnak is szoktak nevezni a tudósok.

ALKOTMÁNY.

Évszámok s egyéb adatok helyett rimeket, vagy még inkább kötetlen hangulatokat keres az ember, jobban mondva ilyen szavak tolakszanak ki az irótolból — Rippl-Rónairól szólván. Azok a hangulatok, amiket ez a művész kicsiny és nagy képeiben megfóstott: a mi lelkünk. Vagy legalább ugy érezzük: ilyennek kell lennie, tisztának, derűsnek és egyszerünek. Mert Rippl-Rónai képei ilyenek.

AZ ORSZÁG.

A magány, az otthon, a természet, az intim pillanatok szülöttei ezek az intim vallomások, melyeket Rippl-Rónai kiállitásán együtt találni. Teli kézzel szórt kincsei egy kifogyhatatlanul gazdag, könnyen teremtő nagy művész-léleknek.

AZ UJSÁG.

A közönség finomultabb izlésü része végtelen gyönyörüséggel fogja bejárni a Könyves Kálmán termeit s élvezni az ő nagy művészetét, mely a magyar művészetben egészen külön áll.

BUDAPEST.

Mi kritikusok nézzük, figyeljük és élvezzük a gourman szemeivel, amit az életből ellesett és nagy bátran megrögzitett. Mert nagy és kiváló tehetség Rippl-Rónai József, bármit mondjanak ellenségei.

BUDAPESTI HIRLAP.

Dicsértük bátor egyéniségét, jellemző rajzolását, mint kolorista, soha még olyan pazar szép bokrétával nem szolgált, mint az idén. Soha lelkének intimitását olyan őszintén, annyira közvetlenül elénk nem tárta, mint most.

BUDAPESTI NAPLÓ.

Külön nem emelünk ki egyik vagy másik képet a kiállitásból. Nekünk ugyanis a kiállitásnak mind a száz darabja egyformán tetszik. Egyébként: alakjainak karakterét egy-egy szinjátékkal adja vissza, aminthogy egész művészete nem más, mint a szinek valami különösen egyéni ritmusa.

EGYETÉRTÉS.

A Könyves Kálmán kis tárlata jelentőségben a legnagyobb művészi események közé számitható. Mert az összehasonlitások kerülésével is meg kell állapitanunk, hogy Rippl-Rónai, akinek négy utóbbi, csodálatosan termékeny munkaévét hozza elénk, egyik legegyénibb, tehát legnagyobb festőművészünk

FÜGGETLEN MAGYARORSZÁG.

A merész kolorista, a vakmerő impresszionista teljes egészében áll előttünk, s ez a mostani kiállitás nyilván mindenkit meg fog győzni komoly tudásáról s nagy akaraterejéről. A képek igen jutányosan kaphatók.

MAGYARORSZÁG.

Amikor kollektiv kiállitását végignézzük, az az érzés fog el, hogy itt egy festő-embernek nem a képeit nézzük, hanem művészi hitvallását hallgatjuk, s hogy ez az erős modoru, kemény energiáju, soktudásu ember nem is azért fest, hogy minden áron gyönyörködtessen, de hogy mindenáron meggyőzzön mindenkit a maga igazságáról.

JÖVENDŐ.

Rippl-Rónai sikere valóban tüneményes, olyan, mely méltán késztet gondolkodásra és még valamire; hogy ennek az egyedül álló független értékes piktorunknak személyével és művészetével foglalkozzunk. Művészetét penetráns szubjektivitás jellemzi, olyan, mely megkülönbözteti ezt az európai magyar művészt az impresszionizmus uttörőtől. Minden izében magyar, se mellett bőven tudja variálni sujtetét.

MAGYAR HIRLAP.

A kiállitó művész neve már magában véve elegendő, hogy kiállitásának különös érdekességet kölcsönözzön. Alig van ugyanis művészünk, ki a közönséget annyira foglalkoztatta volna, mint ő. Hogy mily eredményt ért el, arról a legfényesebb dicséretet zengi a Könyves Kálmán mostani kiállitása. Bármily művészi magaslaton áll Rippl-Rónai mint festő, de a piktorral méltán vetélkedik benne a költő.

MAGYAR NEMZET.

Mi örömmel fogadjuk Rippl-Rónai képeit, mert egy tekintetben hatalmasan fejlett, érzésben jóval elmélyült, kifejező erőben szélesen változatossá vált művész ajándékai. Annyi bizonyos, hogy a finom izlésű, jól látó amatőr hatalmas élvezeteket találhat Rippl-Rónai tanulmányaiban. Gyönyör a szemnek, mondjuk Delacroixval.

MAGYAR SZEMLE.

Abból, amit jól ismer, adott alkalommal, a lelke teremtésre alkalmas pillanatában, kiválasztja a jellemzőt, a karakterisztikust, ami neki megfelel, amit legközvetlenebbül érez, ami harmóniában van az egyéniségével s azt az egyéni látásán s érzésén keresztül ujjáteremti, ez az ő művészete.

Fig.4.41. Three of the five pages of clippings from 22 different reviews re-printed in Rippl-Rónai's auction catalogue. Source: *Rippl-Rónai József Műveinek Aukció-Katalógusa,* Catalogue, 1906.

25 journals had written reviews of the show, almost all of them positive, and so when the catalogue for the auction was drawn up at the end of the exhibition period, it included five pages of press clippings about the show containing praise such as, "limitless beauty," "the artist's noble soul," and "the most gleaming of honors."[243] In this inclusion of press clippings, as if advertising a theater play, Rippl-Rónai was, as in so many other ways, a pioneer. The exhibition and auction competed with the excitement generated by the opening of the new *Uránia* gallery in the same month, and the success of both events indicated that one gallery's triumph did not necessarily cannibalize the other's, and in fact two events could complement each other.

The auction method was indeed a bold gamble by Rippl-Rónai. He complained that the art-buying public did not understand the idea of voluntarily staging an auction; rather, they associated auctions with forced sales and thought them a sign that the artist himself does not value his work.[244] Despite the fact that the artist surely did value his works, his sales method was indeed one of unprecedented discounting. He managed to sell 188 works during the exhibition period in February and another 381 at the auction.[245] He wrote to his brother a week after the conclusion of the auction to report that altogether 44,000 korona worth had been sold, of which the *Könyves Kálmán* took 12,000, leaving him with 32,000 for himself.[246] The sales figure was astounding, not the least because it was equivalent to a third of all the private collector purchasing at the *Műcsarnok* in the entire year of 1906 (132,000 korona).[247] But what was truly revolutionary was the average price for which Rippl-Rónai was selling his works. According to his own account, he sold 569 artworks for 44,000 korona, an average price per piece of just 77 korona! True,some of them were drawings and a vast number of them were pastels, but nonetheless, these were original one-of-a-kind artworks, yet Rippl-Rónai was selling them for less than the cost of one of *Könyves Kálmán*'s reproduction heliogravures.[248] From numerous press reports, the auction even appears to have proceeded in a Dutch fashion: starting at an opening price and then reducing the price until the lot found a buyer. To understand by how much he was underselling, consider that the average asking price for an artwork at the *Nemzeti Szalon* in 1906 was 410 korona. Furthermore, the 1906 *Nemzeti Szalon* Graphics Exhibition (which featured pastels and other lower-value works much like those at Rippl-Rónai's sale) had an average price of 135 korona.[249]

Rippl-Rónai's triumph in 1906 had everything to do with his having embraced the techniques of industrial capitalism and profited from large scale production by using new industrial technology, especially the relatively new pastel crayon, and then dramatically underselling competitors (by 50% or more) in order to create a widely distributed brand. Much like a mass producer of consumer products, he pioneered new means of distribution, understanding that the larger the body of current collectors, the more that would attract others. Therefore, in addition to the shockingly low prices at this 1906 show, Rippl-Rónai also used charity purposes to help transfer additional works of his into private hands. For example, at his successful 1905 exhibition in his home-town of Kaposvár, which helped to build momentum to his 1906 breakthrough, he provided 5 art works valued at 600 korona (i.e., 120 korona each, again not high-value at all) for a raffle to benefit to local charities.[250]

Rippl-Rónai was not the only artist to begin exploiting the additional production capacity that pastels afforded. Speed in the production of art was increasingly regarded as a trait of the "ultra-moderns,"[251] though at the other end of the art world spectrum, Hugó Poll, a reliable fixture at every *Műcsarnok*, had also switched to the medium —even though critics accused him of become a "maniac" for pastels and suggested that his work looked like "badly colored amateur photographs."[252] The quicker production time, though, allowed Poll to produce dramatically more works that could be sold at more modest prices, and at the 1905–06 *Műcsarnok* he was able to exhibit 18 works, more than any other artist.[253]

The *Művészház* and the Role of Miklós Rózsa

While the first *M.I.É.N.K.* struggled with poor press, as well as competition from a new *KÉVE* and *Műhely*, Miklós Rózsa, in his position as the *M.I.É.N.K.*'s artistic director, took steps towards founding what became the most permanent of any of the Budapest secessions, the *Művészház*. He teamed with Károly Füredy, who would serve as its business director, and Nándor Honti, who became its curator. Honti was still attempting to fully achieve the promise he had demonstrated with his early successes at the *Nemzeti Szalon* and with the painting *Sixth Hour*, which he had brought back from the U.S. The first new entity

the three men formed was called the *Magyar Művészeti Műkereskedés* [Hungarian Art Dealership] and was located at Koronaherczeg utca 20, just off of Ferenciek tere.[254] It immediately attracted the attention of younger artists like Czigány and Gulácsy, who were seeking additional outlets for their work.[255] The name was not considered particularly well-chosen, and the *Magyar Művészeti* Műkereskedés was seen as just one in a growing aglomeration of newcomer commercial entities like the *KÉVE* and even the two coffeehouses [the Riviera and Baross] that had started to exhibit pictures.[256] The enterprise's first major undertaking was to hold an exhibition of "Hungarian Artists" in the Transylvanian town of Nagyvárad, in Spring 1908; and, at that time, they also named their president, Papal Legate Péter Vay (1864–1948).[257] The opening was attended by "the elite of Nagyvárad,"[258] and the 260 paintings actually represented a vast cross section of Hungarian artistic production, with works by establishment favorites like Neogrády, Kacziány, and Margitay, but also Modernists like Rippl-Rónai, Márffy, Sándor Ziffer (1880–1962), and Gulácsy.[259] The star of the collection was Rózsa's colleague Honti, who showed his immense *Sixth Hour* for the first time since its Hungarian debut at the *Uránia* had generated such great excitement.[260] Honti worked extremely hard to insure that the exhibition went off successfully;[261] and the local press made sure to mention that his painting had been highly praised in the United States when first shown.[262] The show's more modern works did not escape controversy, as one local commentator said he found *Eggenberger's* competing Neogrády show far more to his liking.[263] When the new *Magyar Művészeti* Műkereskedés president, Papal Legate Vay, failed to attend the opening and soon thereafter renounced his position, the local press speculated that he was unsettled by the presence of so much neo-Impressionist artwork mixed in among the respected masters.[264]

After the failure of this first venture, Rózsa made a plea to a wider audience: "...the most important thing that we cannot forget, is that we have to find a place for the young [artists]. Young modern painters are now, in reality, homeless, and it is from this, that the greatest problems will arise."[265] In May 1909, soon after the collapse of the attempted peace between the *Nemzeti Szalon* leadership and the *M.I.É.N.K.*, Rózsa issued a formal call for the creation of a *Művészház* [Artists' House].[266] That exhortation was followed with one by Géza Lengyel in *Nyugat*:

> It is more important that, in addition to the *M.I.É.N.K.*, an entire army of parallel related progressive-oriented artists are waiting for a new home [...] for any kind of independent endeavor, for everything that is good and honorable and that cannot and does not wish to fit into the official market. The Artists' House [*Művészház*] will in all probability be something in the image of the *Szalon*, but also in some ways different from its predecessor, from which it parted ways.[267]

Despite these urgent calls, the details of the venture were not worked out until November 1909, and the solution only really materialized when Jenő Mihályi Deák's *Magyar Művészeti Részvénytársaság* [Hungarian Art Corporation] offered to provide the necessary venue that lay at the heart of Rózsa's plan. Many times Rózsa made it clear in writing that the *Művészház* and all their artists were deeply indebted to Mihályi Deák for his financial backing.[268] The proper venue in question was located in the well-known, well-lit, glass-ceilinged courtyard which had been the *Philanthia terem* and was divided into one main hall and three smaller chambers.[269]

In a clear attempt for the *Művészház* to be seen as the physical residence of the *M.I.ÉN.K.*, and thereby the embodiment of the Budapest Secession, Szinyei, Ferenczy, Rippl-Rónai, and Kernstok were all selected as honorary members. The *Művészház* attempted to finance its operation (in addition to the income from sales and admissions) through a very sophisticated membership fee model. There were higher rates for patrons (300 korona) with artists and normal supporters expected to each pay 20 korona, but the artists could pay their membership fee in kind in the form of an artwork. The cash-paying members were then able to receive one artwork each at an annual raffle of the in-kind pieces, with some winners receiving a work valued up to 1,000 korona, but everyone was guaranteed to get something worth at least double the membership fee (i.e., 40 korona in value).[270]

This unique funding method was predicated on the idea that artists held vast amounts of their own stock of work, and so would barter a work of far greater value than 20 korona for access to the *Művészház*; and in exchange the *Művészház* could redeem that work for 20 korona in cash from their non-artist supporters. These dramatically below-market purchase and sales prices would in theory encourage potential cash-paying members to join in order to take advantage of the bargain-price acquisitions. For both the *Művészház* and its artists, the

donated works became the loss-leader which would produce a new generation of collectors of smaller means. In addition, for the day of the opening the organization raised the admission price to 2 korona over the usual 1 korona rate in another attempt to maximize alternative revenue streams.[271] The opening exhibition set the gallery's pattern for the first year, which was to hold monthly exhibitions with a limited number of artists, allowing each of them a significant number of works so essentially they were achieving the level of focus otherwise attained only by solo exhibitions. József Egry was allowed to show 35 works; only 7 were for sale, with the rest already in private collections. Another big discovery of Rózsa's was Béla Kádár, whose work was described as "having much to say and in color and line demonstrates a highly developed formal language."[272] He showed 15 pieces, which was an important breakthrough for an artist who less than two years earlier had suffered the indignity of appearing at the 1908 *Visszautasítottak Szalonja*. Most of the artists, like Kádár, kept their prices low, with works going for 100-300 korona. Only Tibor Boromisza had works generally priced in the thousands, in his case between 1,000 and 4,000 korona, but he had already established himself as a exhibitor at both of the *M.I.É.N.K.* shows, and in this he clearly laid a pathway from that organization to the new *Művészház*. Kézdi-Kovács joked that 17 "ultramodern" works going for over 24,000 korona was the greatest artwork

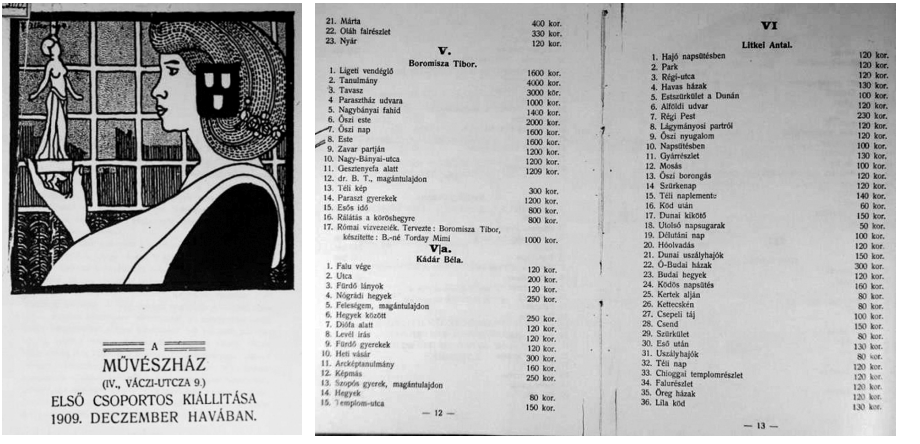


Fig. 4.42. The first catalogue of the *Művészház*. The cover references Pallas Athena holding Nike, which was the symbol of both the Munich and the Vienna Secessions. Source: *A Művészház Első Csoportos Kiállitása 1909. Deczember Havában*, Catalogue, 1909.

of all in the show.[273] To emphasize the show's individual focus, each exhibitor was given one of eight designated spaces, and the catalog enumerated their works individually, starting again at one for each artist.[274] Perhaps the most startling innovation was the seamless inclusion of Erzsi Gaiduschek's (1875–1956) 108 photographs among what was otherwise a show of paintings.

The arrival of the *Művészház* proved to some commentators that an economic transformation had occurred: a protective, managed marketplace had evolved into a system of competitive capitalism. "We needed this in the new home which was born as a symbol of free competition, which artists need like oxygen [...] whatever is weak, bad, tasteless, or unjustifiably excessive, in this public forum, in this free competition, will be purified by fire. But what remains will be good."[275] The *Művészház,* however, was not universally considered a positive development in an under-performing market beset with a surfeit of unsold goods. Critic Ödön Rottenbiller wrote:

> We do not like artistic factions. There are already too many second- and third-rate art dealers.Our painters themselves are ruining their prices. The *Műcsarnok* will tell you that every year it gets harder and harder to sell pictures. In fact the only people who buy there are the raffle winners... The newly opened *Művészház* is one competitor... The influence of the newer dealers is apparent. The new venue, likeable, tasteful, ceiling-lit, and in a good location, is first class. The future will show whether this enterprise comes to life or not.[276]

In fact, the enterprise did indeed come to life and provided a brilliant flash of exhibitions, but it never stabilized, and throughout its four years in operation it careened from one crisis to another. It best exemplified the *kamikaze* model of art gallery: vital, progressive, energetic, and essential in the establishment of a Modernist canon, but at the same time, fundamentally not viable as an economic enterprise and destined to collapse (in fact, to undergo multiple collapses).

The *Művészház*'s appearance on the scene did signal the beginning of a truly competitive market, but it was often a competition that did not favor this new arrival. Its two initial exhibitions faced formidable competitors even on the Modernist front, with the established figures of Ferenczy, Vaszary, and Szinyei all showing at the third *M.I.É.N.K.,* and Kernstok's break-away group of young *M.I.É.N.K.* stars (future

members of The Eight) Márffy, Czóbel, Pór, and Vilmos Perlrott (1880–1955), opening at the *Könyves Kálmán*. This competition within the genre of Modernism was seen as allowing for a full exploration of its possibilities as well as exposing its diversity of approach:

> *MIÉNK*, *Művészház*, Kernstok and his school: these three exhibitions, which opened last week, are all closely related to one another. They are together the *chercheurs*, the Modernists who blaze new trails in the great blossoming garden of art. But they're related only in their goals, their tools are as different as earth and sky; in fact they're as different as heaven and hell.[277]

The *Művészház*'s second collective exhibition in January 1910 also featured an exhibition of the *Magyar Grafikai Egyesülete* [Union of Hungarian Graphic Artists], who had only recently closed their inaugural exhibition at the *Műcsarnok*, which had featured 682 Hungarian works and hundreds more from Britain, France, Germany, Scandinavia, and Japan. The *Művészház*'s exhibition of works from the *Egyesülete* seemed small and pathetic in comparison. Rottenbiller again sounded pessimistic regarding the gallery's chances: "...this follows the first poor, modest exhibit... Bad timing, bad auspices. Immediately following the *Műcsarnok* 's International Graphics Exhibition, this one is definitely untimely. Just as with the first one, Erzsi Gaiduschek's photographs are the most interesting, artistic, and least-valued attraction."[278] Ernő Margitay was even harsher, especially on Rózsa's protégé, Nándor Honti, whose figures the critic considered stiff, saying the only reason his works appeared there was the same *protekció* [favoritism] one found at other institutions.[279] Another critic commented that Honti was now living on past laurels from his *Sixth Hour* masterpiece.[280] Margitay suggested that he "would like to put a few questions to the *Művészház*'s leadership. According to the program, not just seekers would appear in the Váci utca halls, but also those who have actually found something. When will they be coming?" He concluded, "Oh Lord. Then what's the 'jury-free' exhibition going to be like?"[281]

Rózsa made a concerted and somewhat clumsy effort to provide his new venture with positive press and published conspicuously under his own name (without making reference to his stake in the enterprise). He also spared no harsh words for those recalcitrant *M.I.É.N.K.*ers who had not cast their lot with him. He described their concurrent ex-

hibit as having the "smell of a corpse in the air" and asserted that the "*M.I.É.N.K.* is dying."[282] He predicted that conservative elements were going to continue to be recruited to the *Műcsarnok* and the *Nemzeti Szalon*, while the progressive elements would find their home at the *Művészház*. The truth proved far more complex. Progressive elements, in fact, continued to also make use of the *Nemzeti Szalon*, as well as the *Könyves Kálmán*, and in time, the *Ernst Múzeum*; and in 1914, they would even begin to venture back to the *OMKT.*

By February 1910, the *Művészház* was already opening its third exhibition, and Rózsa was praised for his agility in putting up, as promised, one show every month, with a new selection of talented young artists.[283] In a format similar to the previous ones, 10 painters were allocated individual spaces and allowed to hang between 20 and 40 works—again, the equivalent of a mini-solo show. Prices were also kept extremely low, with nothing even reaching 1,000 korona, and most works, even oil paintings, priced at only a few hundred korona.[284] For many of the artists who had suffered at the hands of the *Műcsarnok* jury, Rózsa's backing served as vindication. One of his future protégés, Ferenc Sás-Brunner (1882–1963), had been rejected thirteen years in a row at the *Műcsarnok* before being able to show at the *Művészház*.[285] Other critics found though that the *Művészház* was giving the trappings of authoritative presentation to art that did not merit such treatment. György Kürthy (1882–1972) praised the framing, the hanging, and the presentation, but complained that this was a sort of *Twelfth Night* of mistaken identity: "the good taste of a *Thereseanstadt* fair aimed to please Kohner[286] with the class of the Fine Arts Museum and *Eggenberger*."[287]

The prestige of the *Művészház* took a great leap forward with its exhibition of International Impressionism in April 1910. With most of the works lent from private Hungarian collections, its purpose was not so much commercial as it was art historical. The bulk of the paintings were taken from three collectors, Adolf Kohner (1865–1937), Marcell Nemes (1866–1930), and Béla Jánossy (?–1912), but altogether 20 collectors contributed to the show. The press reported that the artworks were insured at a value of around five million korona![288] This fact alone served as a shocking testament to the Hungarian public of the values being achieved by Modern art on the world market. The entrance fee of three korona (triple the usual rate) reflected this added overhead as well as the added value of seeing such renowned artworks.[289]

While the International Impressionist show succeeded in defining a canon of Hungarian Modernism by way of Impressionism, a lack of commercial success continued to plague the *Művészház*. In the summer of 1910, Rózsa took a travelling exhibition to Kolozsvár [Cluj] in an attempt to recruit more members in the countryside. The plan proved a success; 200 new members signed up,[290] and with that, approximately 4,000 korona was gathered in cash. Sales, however, had been virtually non-existant[291] among the 178 works included in the show.[292] Without income from sales, the new membership fees likely went to cover overhead expenses. All of the problems that later plagued the institution can already be observed in this first rural exhibition: the lack of sales, the inability to fund operations out of revenue, and Rózsa's chaotic financial management.

By the time Rózsa returned to Budapest to prepare the Fall opening show, relations between him and Jenő Mihályi Deák had become increasingly confrontational. Furthermore, the season's innaguaral show, the Jury-Free Exhibition, did not promise any improvement in sales statistics. For the first nine months of the institution's operation, Rózsa had pursued a hybrid of radical egalitarian tendencies (the *Salon des Refusés* model) and elitist exclusion (the Munich Secession model), and he had had little success to show for it. For this new exhibiton, he swung dramatically towards radical egalitarianism and attempted to form something like a *Salon des Indépendents*. Member artists were allowed to show one work at this exhibition as part of their membership rights, and 81 artists chose to exercise that right. In addition, Iványi-Grünwald himself chose another 136 works to also appear.[293] While the show did provide a venue for many artists struggling for exposure, like the two preceeding *Visszautasítottak Szalonja*, it had a very low success rate at picking out stars. Other than the progenies Rózsa had already exposed, like Egry and Kádár, and artists who had earned a name prior to the *Művészház*, like Gulácsy and Fáy (who were recycling the remains of their previous year's *Uránia* material), the exhibition featured hundreds of names the gallery would show who would leave no lasting mark on Hungarian art history. Other than János Kmetty and Armand Schönberger, who did eventually achieve canonical stature,[294] virtually none of the other exhibitors from the Jury-Free show did.

Even before the Jury-Free exhibition closed, Rózsa's relationship with Mihályi Deák had reached the level of violent threats. As with

other facets of the greater march of Modernism, we get much of the most prescient detail from the enemy camp, namely the articles in Kézdi-Kovács's *Pesti Hírlap*. On September 21, 1910, the paper announced that Rózsa's *Művészház* had decided to break their contract with Mihályi Deák's *Magyar Művészeti Műkereskedés Rt*. as a result of a decision by the *Művészház* leadership.[295] The next day, Rózsa and Mihályi Deák each reported the other to the police for theft. That evening the *Művészház* leadership again met with Mihályi Deák, and this time he drew a revolver on them, then brandished a club as well, and chased them out of the room, threatening, "whoever comes in here, I'm going to shoot him."[296] The dispute arose over which entity was to receive the monetary membership fees. Mihályi Deák believed the contract entitled *Magyar Művészeti Műkereskedés Rt*. to them in compensation for renting the *Philanthia* space at his firm's expense.[297] He accused the *Művészház*'s secretary, Elemér Kónyay, of having received 9,000 korona in advances, and felt that overall the *Művészház* owed *Magyar Művészeti Műkereskedés Rt.* 60,000 korona at the time that they abrogated the mutual contract.[298] The result, unsurprisingly, was that Mihályi Deák stopped paying the rent for the *Művészház* and expelled them from the premises. In consequence, when 80 members of the *Művészház*'s general assembly met on October 8, they had to do so at the Academy of Fine Arts.[299]

Two remarkable features of Rózsa's leadership become apparent at this time. Even in constant crisis he could continue to manage to maintain the loyalty of his artists and the confidence of his backers. Even in a dispute where the facts seem to favor Mihályi Deák, Rózsa was able to persuade his leadership, his patrons, his dues-paying members and in-kind paid-up artists, that the *Művészház* still represented the best avenue for their aspirations for a genuinely modern-oriented exhibition venue. The specific crime which Mihályi Deák charged Rózsa with was theft, accusing him of giving away a painting to a woman. The court, however, ruled that it was within Rózsa's perogative to make gifts.[300] The irony is that Mihályi Deák was only the first of his victims, and in fact the *Művészház* would leave a trail of disgruntled benefactors and supporters. If the institution had not been so successful at incubating the next generation of avant-garde artists, it might have been regarded more as a pyramid scheme masquerading as an art gallery than as the seminal venue for Modernism in the years before the War. Eventually, Rózsa found a remarkably fortuitous solution to their eviction from

the *Philanthia terem* space: he appealed to the generousity of the most important collector of Modern art at this time, Baron Kohner,[301] who permitted them the use of the *Erzsébetvárosi kaszinó*, situated on the elegant parkway avenue, Városligeti fasor, adjacent to Kohner's own villa on Damjanich utca.[302]

Once the *Művészház* had split with the *Magyar Művészeti Műkereskedés Rt.* and moved to its temporary space at the *Erzsébetvárosi kaszinó*, Mihályi Deák continued to try to operate the *Philanthia* space under the new (and very similar) name of *Művészotthon* [Artists' Home]. He attempted to stage a few exhibits in 1911 and 12, and made no attempt to abandon the progressive course that Rózsa had set. His choices, however well-founded, failed to make any long-standing impression on Hungarian art history. In December 1910, he showed the estate collection of another artist who died tragically young, Gyula Andorkó (1883–1909).[303] Once a promising Nagybánya student who exhibited at the first *M.I.É.N.K.*,[304] his oeuvre has disappeared completely (his death, like that of Göröncsér-Gundel and Máté, was a suicide).[305] The *Művészotthon* also showed the Munich art professor Charles J. Palmié (1863-1911) in January 1911,[306] whose own most memorable achievement would be that he led Wassily Kandinsky and Gabrielle Münter (1877–1962) to the alpine village of Kallmünz in 1903 and later was a short-term member of their *Neue Künstlervereinung München* (the forerunner of *Der Blaue Reiter*) at its founding in 1909. Palmié died soon after the show in the summer of 1911, but his paintings continue to surface on the current Budapest art market, attesting to some degree of sales from the *Művészotthon* show. The last *Művészotthon* show we know of was in April 1911 with Zsigmond Nagy (1872–1932), Magda Oppel (1884–?) and Viktor Vas,[307] again continuing Mihályi Deák's streak of exhibiting promising artists who left no lasting mark. Then his lease on the Váci utca space expired. In late 1910, a Mrs. Marcell Pick Bittner acquired the lease and would bring to an end the *Philanthia*'s role as an exhibition space. Once the *Művészotthon* vacated in 1911, the courtyard space was reconstructed to become the *Corso Mozgószínház* [Corso Cinema], and in 1966 it became the *Pesti Színház* [Pest Theater], which it still is today.[308]

Rózsa's adroit leap to the *Erzsébetvárosi kaszinó*, allowed the *Művészház* to open the Ernő Tibor show by November 10, a date only slightly later than planned.[309] So essentially they were on schedule for their collective exhibition, which again was a gesture to the

egalitarian/proletarian tendency within the gallery's greater project. The *Művészház*'s Winter salon was portrayed in the press as a sort of *Ellenszalon* [Anti-Salon], in that they made a portion of it a *Salon des Refusés* by showing works that had been rejected by the *Műcsarnok* jury.[310] The catalog itself makes no reference to the term, however, and only designates with an asterix those works that that not been allowed to be shown at the *Műcsarnok* due to a shortage of space.[311] The anti-Modernist press seemed to make the greatest issue of the *refusés*, while at the same time pointing out that they represented only 25 of the 136 works exhibited.[312] Alfréd Lakos pointed out that ten years earlier, artists who did not belong to a clique could not break in to a salon. He would know: he was among the refusés in 1900, and in fact illustrated the 1900 *Visszautasítottak Szalonja* catalogue. But now the *Műcsarnok* "is not ruled by a handful of people but rather by a whole army. Justice is still not perfect. Yet it is more complete, now that, a few years ago, the 'Independent Jury' came into existence, which the artists choose every year. With this jury, there is a greater amount of 'crop rotation,' as they would say in parliamentary language."[313] The *Műcsarnok* jury's democratic legitimacy was a frequent touchstone for the Kézdi-Kovács camp, and they employed it to verify the status of their favored artists.[314] As the critics pointed out, though, the exhibition contained only a very small proportion of rejected works, and the bulk of it, including the rejected works to be shown, was chosen by the *Művészház*'s own jury of Csók, Ferenczy, Szinyei-Merse, Rippl-Rónai, and Kernstok. In other words, the *Művészház* jury was composed of a more or less permanent, un-elected aristocracy of anointed Modernist founding-fathers, and their canonical status had in fact been conferred by Rózsa himself through the earlier International Impressionism show. Two lines of economic organization continued to become ever more distinct at this point: one which was democratic and anti-modern and one which was authoritarian and modern.

Rózsa was also learning that his egalitarian tendencies were not producing enough return to meet the costs of his enterprise, so instead he turned to exhibiting the most proven seller in the Modernist camp: Rippl-Rónai. His 1911 solo exhibition also allowed the artist to follow through with the second stage of his pricing strategy. While he had been building his reputation by disseminating his inexpensive pastels, he had also been maintaining high price-expectations for his major works. A case in point was his portrait *My Old Mother* from 1892.

He had shown it at his very first show, in a private apartment, priced at around 100–150 korona. At his 1900 Royal Hotel show, he offered it from 200–600 korona, but at the Hotel Merkur in 1905, it was 1,000 korona. At the 1906 *Könyves Kálmán* auction, then priced at 5,000 korona, it failed to sell. Finally, at the *Művészház* show, Béla Lázár persuaded the State Purchasing Committee to buy it for 10,000 korona (discounted from a starting price of 15,000).[315] This sale alone exceeded anything the gallery had achieved so far, and also launched the institution on a new strategy which focused on more proven, saleable artists. At the end of the year, they held a retrospective for Kernstok, but very few of those works were even for sale, and those that were were priced quite high at between 2,000 and 10,000 korona.[316]

In 1911, the *Művészház* moved to its third abode, back very close to the heart of the art district, where their first home had been. This time the location was on Kristóf tér, just off of Váci utca, and, much like the one financed by the *Magyar Művészeti Műkereskedés Rt.*, it could not be afforded simply on the revenue streams brought in by art exhibitions. A similar streak of impermanence also afflicted the institution's forays into publishing. They briefly had loose associations with both *Auróra* and *Interieur*, and then subsequently founded their own journal, *Szabad Művészet* [Free Art], which changed its name to *Új Művészet* after the third edition.[317] By the Fall of 1912, the Kristóf tér venue, too, proved unsupportable, and so the institution held no exhibitions in the second half of that year. Indeed, the *Művészház*, like the *Nemzeti Szalon* before them, saw the casino-experience as a symbiotic leisure activity to logically pair with, especially given that activity's far greater ability to finance itself. It was for this very reason that their exodus from the *Philanthia* space had been so successful: their subsequent venue had also been subsidized by the casino business. Understanding that the *Művészház* was never going to support itself from art sales alone, throughout 1912, Rózsa made secret plans with one Charles Rondeaux, who was to put 200,000 korona towards the construction of a new *Művészház*.[318] When the scandal of these secret negotiations blew up, Rózsa had a falling out with Szinyei, which resulted in Szinyei leaving the institution.[319] The plan collapsed under intense scrutiny, and without the supplemental income that would have come from operating a gambling establishment at the *Művészház,* the whole project of a permanent home was no longer economically viable. Yet Rózsa was able to dupe his last significant backer, Count

Géza Teleki, as well as most of the membership, for almost two more years. Teleki had provided the loan for an ideal, wholly-owned palace (never completed) around the corner from the Academy of Fine Arts. Furthermore, the institution continued to put on creatively conceived exhibitions which remain of great art historical interest today. In 1912, they held eight exhibitions, all within the first half of the year. In 1913, eight more were held; but the institution managed only three in 1914, when bankruptcy proceedings finally forced *Művészház* to close for good, almost simultaneous with the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand (1863–1914).[320]

The *Ernst Múzeum*

The long-range implications of the Hock affair culminated with the last addition to the art market before the close of the period, when Lajos Ernst, who had replaced Hock and guided the *Nemzeti Szalon* at its zenith, opened his own venue in 1912. Just as the other new commercial institutions pursued a strategy of multiple revenue streams, Ernst, too, experimented with a new model that was part museum, part gallery, and eventually part auction house. He named it the *Ernst Múzeum* because originally that had indeed been its sole purpose. Ernst, it seems, above all else, craved an aristocratic title and sought to imitate the model of the prescient collector Marcell Nemes, who had been ennobled in 1910.[321] Like many Jews of his era, Ernst desired social distinction, particularly with regard to his service to the nation as a collector of Hungarian historical artifacts and historically-themed artworks. He wrote: "Even in my early youth, I could only be enthusiastic for things Hungarian. [...] By the age of fifteen, I knew all the Pest antiques dealers... I started buying lithographic journals and etchings, and I was a keen visitor to the National Museum..."[322] Unlike the rest of the Modernist guard, Ernst was able to hang onto his leadership position at the *Nemzeti Szalon* until 1909 (the others had been removed by 1907). He was finally unseated by the Kézdi-Kovács' camp, which accused him of compromising "serious Hungarian art."[323] The fact that Ernst was able to survive for those two additional years after his allies had been expelled was certainly due in some part to the respect with which his collection of Hungarian art, especially its historical themed works, was regarded. It was impossible to assert that he did not appreciate earlier

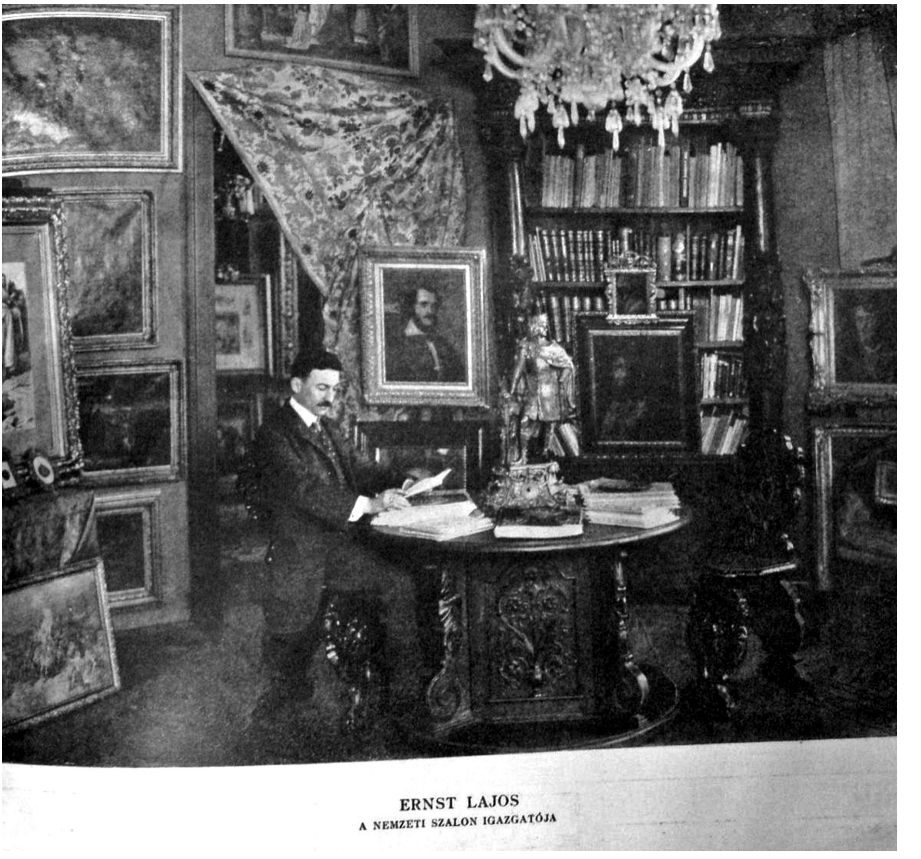


Fig. 4.43. Lajos Ernst, while serving as president of the *Nemzeti Szalon*. Source: *Uj Idők*, March 29, 1907, vol. XIII, no. 15.

styles and genres, despite his support for more progressive trends.[324] Thus, it could be said that his status as a patron of Hungary's historical period of painting was bartered for two more years at the helm of the *Nemzeti Szalon*, thus providing *M.I.É.N.K.* with the opportunity to stage their three shows. Once removed from the leadership, though, Ernst was recruited to assist his old protégé Rózsa at the *Művészház*, both as a member of the supervisory committee[325] and also as an occassional public speaker for their events.[326]

At the same time as his expulsion from the *Nemzeti Szalon*, Ernst saw his collection of objects related to the romantic poet Sándor Petőfi (1822–49) installed at the new Petőfi House, and he was deeply dissatisfied with their placement.[327] He decided that the best way to in-

sure their long-term conservation would be to build his own museum. After two years of preparing the plans and applying for permits, building began at Nagymező utca 8 in 1911 and finished on April 29, 1912.[328]

Ernst had learned from his experiences in the art market that his venture was only going to succeed if it was sustained by multiple revenue sources. The layout of the building was planned so that one entrance led directly to the first floor [American: second floor] where his superb private collection would be displayed. On the ground floor, a café had originally been planned, but Ernst instead signed a contract with the Projectograph Film Company for them to operate the Tivoli Cinema on the floor beneath his gallery.[329] The ground floor also contained a couple of shops, and the upper floors, in addition to his own personal residence, had rental apartments, and two artist's studios were on the top floor.[330] The museum section was laid out to accomo-

Fig. 4.44. Images from the first Ernst Museum catalogue showing the gallery. [Left] The Nagymező utca entrance to the Ernst Museum. [Middle] The entrance foyer. [Right] The Writers Room with the portrait gallery. Source: *Ernst Múzeum. A magyar történet, irodalom, művészet, szinészet, zene emlékeinek gyűjteménye és a múzeummal kapcsolatos kiállitási helyiség ismertetése,* Catalogue, 1912.

date Ernst's private collection, which ranged between authentic period objects and later historicizing representations of the events and characters. The permanent collection had a designated room devoted to each of the essential periods of Hungarian history: the Árpád kings; the kings from foreign houses; the period of János and László Hunyadi; King Mátyás; Turkish rule; the Transylvanian Princes; the

Habsburg kings, period I; the Habsburg kings, period II (until 1848); and the Habsburg kings, period III (i.e., Franz Josef). Four additional rooms dealt in specific themes: actors and musicians, portraits of Hungarian writers, portraits of Hungarian painters, and one room spe-

Fig. 4.45. The room of the Árpád kings [Left]. The Sándor Petőfi room [Right]. Source: *Ernst Múzeum. A magyar történet, irodalom, művészet, színészet, zene emlékeinek gyűjteménye és a múzeummal kapcsolatos kiállitási helyiség ismertetése,* Catalogue, 1912.

cifically devoted to the poet Sándor Petőfi.[331] In studying the photos from the catalogue of the opening exhibition, it appears that Ernst devoted approximately 20 m² to each room, or about 280 m² given over to items *not for sale*. Ernst's target audience clearly went beyond the Hungarian populace, as his catalogue was also printed in both German and French, something that no exhibition society or gallery had yet done.[332] In this instance, he may have been carrying on an evangelical mission that had begun at the 1896 Budapest Exposition with his efforts to tell the panaramic sweep of Hungarian history to a Western Europe only then becoming accustomed to thinking of that territory as something other than an Austrian province.

In addition to the rooms designated for his historical collection, Ernst also operated four rooms with street-front windows, and two more opening onto the courtyard which served as a permanent gallery space of comprising approximately 150 m². At the inaugural exhibition, these held a retrospective of the, by that time, most canonical of all the Modernists, Szinyei-Merse. Béla Lázár acted as curator and continued to play a vital role in the institution for decades to come.

Geographically, the *Ernst Múzeum* represented a shift outwards towards the Sugár út [Andrássy út] and away from the old core of Pest, where virtually the entirety of the art market (with the exception of the

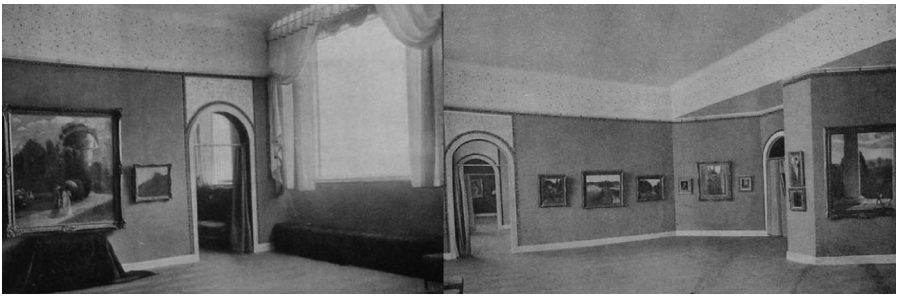


Fig. 4.46. The exhibition rooms with the Szinyei-Merse retrospective. Source: *Ernst Múzeum. A magyar történet, irodalom, művészet, színészet, zene emlékeinek gyűjteménye és a múzeummal kapcsolatos kiállitási helyiség ismertetése,* Catalogue, 1912.

Műcsarnok and the *Könyves Kálmán*) still operated. The *Művészház* followed this trend in 1913, with its last short-lived venue even farther up, right off Sugár út on the side street of Szegfű utca. The *Ernst Múzeum*, for its part, sat in the midst of the burgeoning nightlife district of Nagymező utca and a short distance from Ernst's regular coffeehouse, the *Japán Kávéház*. He had been a member of the artists' table there from its very beginning, and it was there that the idea for the *M.I.É.N.K.* was hatched. According to anecdotal evidence, Ernst chose the museum's location precisely because he wanted to be within walking distance of his beloved coffeehouse, and it was in order to please his fellow members at the artists' table that he installed the gallery space in his museum.[333] Furthermore, he was able to reward his fellow table members with frequent exhibition opportunities, and an exhibition at Ernst's also signaled that an artist had really arrived.[334]

After the first exhibition in the Spring of 1912, which focused on Szinyei-Merse, Ernst proceeded to offer shows to most of the artists who comprised his evolving vision of a Modernist canon. In the same year, Kernstok exhibited stained glass he had made for the city of Debrecen and Fényes introduced his new stylistic direction. If his friends lacked an entire collection of new work, he allowed them to show even a single work, as, for example, Csók, who exhibited a single self-portrait together with an exhibition of the works of the Spaniard Ignacio Zuloaga (1870–1945). As evidenced by the Zuloaga show, Ernst displayed a prescient sense for what would be held in long-term art historical esteem, and also in 1912 he held an exhibition of Manet and French Impressionism. The opening speech was delivered by that

great proponent of Manet as the father of Modernism, Julius Maier-Graefe (1867–1935). And again Ernst bestowed the honor of exhibiting in the same show to a table-mate of his, Lipót Hermann (1884–1972). In 1913 he held a show of nineteenth-century French masters, surveying from J.A.D. Ingres (1780–1867) to Gauguin, the Nabis, and Neo-impressionism. Also that year the museum hosted shows by the other core *M.I.É.N.K.* founders, Iványi-Grünwald and Ferenczy, as well as the first group show, which contained virturally the same individuals who had already shown there earlier by themselves. Ernst was in some way re-making the defunct *M.I.É.N.K.*, but this time in the context of his own gallery. He showed only a few young artists outside of the established older generation, but when he did, he again usually chose quite well. For example, the young Count Gyula Batthyány (1887–1959) presented his already completely mature style, influenced by the *Ballets Russes*'s set designer Leon Bakst (1866–1924) and quite possibly by the previous year's Zuloaga exhibition.

By 1914, Ernst's business model was beginning to show signs of stress. The sale of artworks alone could not finance the large space combining gallery and museum, with so much of it delivering very little revenue. Ernst had possibly also been counting on a larger share of his inheritance from his father; and when he received only one sixth of the estate, it proved insufficient to stabilize his finances. The advantage that Ernst did have over his former colleague and now competitor, Rózsa and his *Művészház,* was that he had easier access to lower-cost credit by being able to pledge his own person and his prestigious building as collateral, and that alone may have allowed him to struggle on for many more years while the *Művészház* collapsed under an unsustainable business model. During the First World War, Ernst discovered a new revenue stream in the form of art and antiques auctions, a commercial model that had only recently appeared on the Budapest market. The museum held their first auction in February 1917. This activity increasingly helped to sustain it throughout the 1920s, especially since large amounts of items from artistocratic estates were now being disposed of due to the dissolution of the Empire and the break-up of Hungary. He even considered this work as a patriotic duty to keep such fine art objects from going abroad.[335] But Ernst's own habits, both his gambling and his unrestrained purchasing, put him deeply in debt, and in 1931 he was forced to sell the building on Nagymező utca. He struggled on keeping up appearances and even in those difficult years,

he made one more immense contribution to Hungarian art, by staging the 1930 retrospective of Csontváry. He thereby initiated the process of launching the most scorned artist discussed in this chapter on his way to becoming the most revered of all Hungarian painters by the end of the twentieth century.

One evening in April 1937, Ernst left the *Fészek Klub*, and a few days later his body washed up on the banks of the Danube. He was reputed to have debts of up to 500,000 pengő[336] at the time.[337] In one sense, the *Ernst Múzeum* had been a survivor from the pre-War era and managed to continue on into the Interwar era when most of the institutions like the *Könyves Kálmán* and the *Művészház* could not. But looked at with a bit more perspective, it instead appears to be one more example of the *kamikaze* gallery: fundamentally unsupportable on the single revenue stream of contemporary art sales, and only able to juggle that role with other revenue streams and borrowed money. Sooner or later, the *Múzeum* was sure to meet the same fate as the galleries which had succumbed in the period before the war. The space and the name survive today, but in an utterly different model. It operates as a state-operated contemporary art venue, and branch of the—also state-operated—*Műcsarnok*.

Conclusion

Returning to the Question of the Hungarian "Secession"

Models of market pluralization should be observed as a process that starts with early cracks (proto-secessions) followed by a dramatic fracture and then a shatter. In the quest for the Hungarian "Secession," the series of ruptures began in 1894 with the initial formation of the *Nemzeti Szalon* and culminated with the creation of the *Művészház* in 1909. The process of market pluralization can be regarded as complete when, in 1909, we observe a multi-agent market with multiple state-sponsored or semi-official exhibition societies which display in wholly-owned premises, and which are in competition with a constellation of private galleries operating full-time premises with a declared orientation towards Modernism. At the same time, groupings of artists began to rally around a common aesthetic program and to exhibit collectively. The unclear agenda of these secessions engendered more and more breaks. For this very reason, "Secessionism," as a grand art historical term, became much more functional and applicable to the wider period of architecture and applied arts—which themselves were less clouded by any of these first, second, or third generations of painter revolts.

In Budapest, the group most often identified as a parallel to the Central European Secessions, or in fact, according to the local press, *was* the Hungarian Secession, was the *M.I.É.N.K.* That grouping was formed and took its name on almost the same day as that other very Secession-like entity, the *KÉVE*, formed out of Ferenc Szablya-Frischauf's school.[1] In February 1908, by the time the *KÉVE* had held their first exhibition under that name, the press was already remarking on the existences of essentially three secessions: the *M.I.É.N.K.*, the *KÉVE*, and the *Műhely* (a mixture of fine and applied arts that was assuming control of the foundering *Uránia* gallery).[2] Furthermore, within a week's time a fourth institution would be announced in the press, the *Magyar Művészet Műkereskedés*, which was the fore-runner

of the most secession-like of all these entities, the *Művészház*. This culminated the process with the advent of a permanent venue (though with no great longevity at any one location).[3] The other salient feature of full secession remains the constant fracturing among the seceding groups. The best example in this vein was when Kernstok led away the younger members of *M.I.É.N.K.* to hold their own exhibit at the *Könyves Kálmán Szalon* in 1909, which was itself referred to as a "new little secession."[4]

The central figure of Hungarian Modernism, Rózsa Miklós, first the secretary of the *Nemzeti Szalon* and then founder of the *Művészház*, was keenly aware of the two variants of secession, its elitist and egalitarian incarnations, when he described the need for one in Budapest already in 1905:

> Why is the situation this way? Because the *Műcsarnok* exhibitions regularly display such a mass of material that is really much more like a big market that purchases are obviously much more often going to be of some likable bauble than of a serious work. How can a modern painter, who might appear difficult, bizarre, or clumsy because of his new and pioneering concept, compete against a hundred-times exhibited, practiced master's quick dabs or "interior decorations" that are practically given away...The *Nemzeti Szalon* attempted to ease the situation a bit... but for many reasons—among them the lack of financial resources—... we struggle to put on collective exhibitions from which we can earn enough to hold a couple of solo shows a year, where we really introduce the public to an artist's full development... [5]

Rózsa, better than anyone else, understood that Modern art would only thrive once it was contextualized. Others had also realized that greater inclusion was not serving the interests of progress: "We have to drop this superstition that an exhibition is better the more rooms it occupies. Some other system needs to be found other than exhibitions including 6-, 7-, or 800 pictures because the public is absolutely unnerved by the horrible contrasts of the mix of quality and non-quality."[6] This impulse to cleanse exhibitions of weak paintings became the battlecry of Modernist critics. "This collective madness, that among 623 'artworks,' perhaps 123 are good. The rest, because of either *protekció* [favoritism] or mercy, were hung on the walls. The greater mistake, which is in fact almost immoral, is that these works of only half,

a quarter, or not even any value, should degrade [by their presence] the production of so many talented young men."[7] Géza Lengyel best expressed the clash of genuine talents against the many mediocrities:

> Everywhere in the world there is a vast deficit between artistic production and demand. Naturally, here the difference is even greater than in richer countries. The artists therefore break into groups, using the familiar tools to earn a name, state support, and government patronage. They are forced into artificial disputes to further their careers, and both the great talents and the mass of gray mediocrities are forced to share this fate.[8]

Lengyel then argued, in another article in the same issue of *Nyugat*, that the only solution would be a self-standing *Művészház* [Artists' House].[9] The critique of the salons by the Modernists accused those institutions of being both too accepting of mediocrity and not being accepting enough of progressive trends. Both problems needed reforming, and an attempt was made, which ultimately failed, to resolve both in the form of one institution: the *Művészház*.

In the midst of these debates, which peaked in the years 1904–1908, the short-lived journal *Modern Művészet* [Modern Art] attempted to set the start date for the Budapest "Secession" back so far as to render the term almost meaningless:

> Secession. Ominous word, especially here, where every other person defines it differently. In theory, it means a walk-out, but especially here it is an expression of excessiveness. The truth is that already at the end of the 1880s those who diverged from academic tendencies, primarily *plein air* painters, broke from the artists who still clung to the antique with expressions of new directions and new forms written on their flags. [...] The expression Secessionist should really apply to those artists who were trail-blazers, who expressed unique ideals of beauty through unique tools, for example, Segantini, Rodin, but Secessionists were also, Millet, Titian, Rembrandt, Velázquez, in fact everything true that followed its own unique artistry...[10]

Aladár Erdey seemed likewise inclined to push back the start-date for the Budapest Secession: "In our art history, this is the second serious 'Secession.' The first one was Nagybánya, with the positive result that

we came to know a few excellent painters' names and by way of that we came to know the greatest landscapist, Pál Szinyei Merse."[11] Such a designation corresponds with one of the earliest usages of the term in the article "A Magyar Szecesszionisták" by Zoltán Ambrus in 1898, precisely in reference to the Nagybánya colony.[12] The socialist newspaper *Népszava* accurately perceived the way the term was heading in popular usage: "The word has quickly become popular, the philistine bourgeoisie use it to mock something before them that they find new, surprising, and incomprehensible. It is true that much abuse is committed under the name of Secession, but violent, revolutionary action is required to redirect the tastes of the masses towards a modern direction."[13] Some, such as the anti-Modern critic Alfréd Lakos writing in 1906, tried to declare the Secession finished and failed before it had really begun.[14]

Regardless of which moment one designates as The Secession, the nature of the conflict always remains the same. The battles of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century art politics always revolved around the same inescapable scarcity of exhibition space and the same unavoidable quandary of deciding which artworks would fill it. For much of the nineteenth century, the solutions seemed to lie in fine-tuning the constitutional process, and juries were chosen through an ever-evolving mixture of plutocracy and populism. The shattering done by the Secessions tended to produce a two-stage resolution, with the first being a drive towards greater democracy in electing their own juries, followed by second, even more divisive stage, with a turn towards, to borrow a term from Jakob Burckhardt, petty despotism.[15] For the inaugural exhibition of the new *Nemzeti Szalon* building in 1907, Károly Ferenczy was given total freedom to put together a collective exhibition according to his selection.[16] The significance of concentrating this authority in a single person was not lost on observers: "Sensational things are in the air: perhaps only temporary, but perhaps a permanent secession. The well-informed already know that Károly Ferenczy will organize a special exhibition at the [*Nemzeti*] *Szalon*, the material of which will be exclusively modern pictures, which he himself has chosen."[17] Eventually, the enmity that Ferenczy engendered with his monopolization of resources led to his and other Modernists' expulsion from the leadership of the *Nemzeti Szalon* and the formation of the *M.I.É.N.K.* The very economic essence of that dispute was characterized in *Egyetértés*: "We wrote that at that [*Nemzeti Szalon*] gener-

al assembly, the great majority had claimed victory over the morality of an artists' grouping. Camaraderie and bread over artistic perspective. Bad artists over good artists."[18] At that contentious meeting, Ferenczy blurted out in his frustration, "Art cannot be conceived on a democratic basis!"[19] Béla Lázár referred to the anti-Modernists as the *Kompakte Majorität*[20] and conceded that: "They won. And they won in the *Műcsarnok* as well. They brought their people in there too—and with them the representatives of 'group mentality' for the 'interests of uniformity' and for democracy. *Viva*."[21] He then related how the young avant-garde painter Dezső Czigány defiantly shouted back at the Kézdi-Kovács faction, "Long live true art—which is aristocratic! The knowledge, the talent, and the genius are all aristocratic!"[22]

In this statement lies Secession's lasting contribution to the market: the process it set in motion eventually vanquished any vestige of democracy from the displaying of artworks. This setback for the elitist Modernists, expulsion from the *Nemzeti Szalon* at this crucial moment, turned out to be a pyrrhic victory for Kézdi-Kovács and his democratic supporters. Eventually the long-term defeat of his faction proved ignominious and complete.The final outcome of the market pluralizations initiated by the various Secessions across Europe (both name-brand and like-minded revolts and walk-outs) turned out to be the ultimate bankrupcy of the Salon method of retailing, with its shifting constitutional models of governance and jurying. The final victor was the dealer. Each gallery was fundamentally, according to Burkhardt's term, a petty despotism, with ultimate authority resting in the firm's proprietor. The dealer may delegate power to curators, but only to those who match his own esthetic orientation, and this delegation in no way alters the dealer's absolute and unquestioned power. The Salon model was kept on life-support by the Communist regimes of Eastern Europe, but even then its decision-making structure, like the wider commercial landscape, reflected a top-down, state-command economy. The system only met its belated death in the early 1990s, and by then galleries on the modernist model had resumed their activity. By the twenty-first century they had made themselves the default mode of art commerce, mirroring their Western role models, which had done so by the middle of the twentieth century. Today, the closest approximation of the nineteenth century's *Műcsarnok* might be the Budapest Art Fair,[23] held annually at the end of November—the same time as the traditional opening of the *OMKT* Winter Exhibition and staged in the same building

at Hősök tere. The difference between the two events, though, is telling: the nineteenth-century *Műcsarnok* juried the artworks, the new Art Fair juries the dealers, and only lets in those who have acquired a "good reputation" among their fellow dealers and are also willing to pay €100–200 per square meter to rent a stall for four days. The Art Fair format derives directly from the most seminal postwar innovations: Art Basel and its ever-expanding imitators around the globe. The essential decisions about participation are determined by a jury of dealers jurying other dealers. Once this council of autocrats has distributed the real estate according to vague and indeterminable categories of prestige and reputation, then the individual petty despot can show whatever he or she wishes within their micro-fiefdom. The other "Olympics" of the art world, the Venice Biennale and *Dokumenta* (held every five years), are similarly undemocratic in their allotment of exhibition space. In fact, the very idea that art works should be displayed based on a democratically-chosen committee drawn from artist peers strikes the contemporary mind as a recipe for mediocrity. The institutionalization of this mentality would be Secession's ultimate achievement.

The Inadequacies of the Market

The Hungarian art market, centered in Pest, developed slowly. From its origins in the booksellers around Ferenciek tere at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a full four decades of a proto-market in graphics were required before full-fledged commerce in one-of-a-kind paintings appeared in the form of the *Pesti Műegylet* in 1840. Even with the launch of a salon system, collector spending grew at a rate that was inadequate to support a much faster-growing body of painters. In fact, from 1840 until 1910, private collector purchasing routinely represented less than half of the buying at the salons. Until 1910, the state was required to make more than 50% of all the purchases at the *OMKT*.[24] Furthermore, government funding guaranteed permanent venues for the *OMKT* and eventually for the *Nemzeti Szalon* as well. This was the other most important contribution of the state to the developmet of the art market. Indeed, few institutions ever survived long without government assistance. The *Uránia* only survived as long as the state paid its rent. Miklós Rózsa continued to hope, to the end, that the *Művészház* might also receive a building for its use. Those gal-

leries that did achieve longevity solely through private sector sales did so with a diversified array of revenue streams, primarily printing and publishing, as was the case with the *Könyves Kálmán* and the *Eggenberger*. The state actually subsidized the production of art in all of its salient facets: by providing retail venues, by being the single largest consumer (larger than all others combined), and also by financing the training of new producers. The *Mintarajziskola* [later the Academy of Fine Arts] was supported solely by the state, as was the tuition for its students. The majority of those who travelled to Munich to study most often did so on state scholarships. In addition, this educational subsidy and the paying teaching jobs it provided served as an essential life-line for successful artists who could still not otherwise achieve a livable income. The consequences of such a program, however, were that ever greater numbers of artists entered a market that was already inundated with producers. Every attempt to stem the flow of artists and artworks, however, only drove the younger generation to seek alternative routes, both for education, such as the Julian Academy in Paris or the Nagybánya school, and later in seeking out new retail models and venues.

Despite the increasing diversity of models, none but those supported by state funding or alternate revenue streams could survive because of the fundamental reality that the sale of contemporary artworks could never cover the cost of Pest rents. Prime retail locations, like that of the *Uránia* and the *Philanthia terem*, could always find tenents with other business activities who were better able to afford the site. The *Philanthia terem*, for example, became a cinema. In other art centers, dealers were able to support their contemporary art ventures by subsidizing them with a more reliable and profitable trade in secondary artworks: old masters, previous generations of established painters, and antiques. Such a model sustained seminal Paris dealers like Paul Durand-Ruel and Charles Sedelmeyer (1837–1925), but such an inventory of products simply could not be reliably harvested from the nascent Pest secondary market, and when that market did come into existence, it was in the form of its own institution, the *Szent György Céh*. The dealers of Pest, for example, Ernst and the *Eggenberger*, only discovered this revenue stream after the start of the First World War.

Ultimately, the problem lay in the slow and insufficient development of a middle-class buying public. Though indeed one did emerge, it did so at a rate that did not remotely match the expansion of produc-

tion, and for a long time, collectors contented themselves with reproductions (because they could not afford anything more) or with artworks purchased abroad (because that carried greater prestige). The buying public in general remained scarce, poor, and fickle. Various constructions of membership dues, lotteries, and exchanges could never compensate for the lack of genuine sales to private customers. Fundamentally, it was this recurring crisis which was the dynamic that drove the development of the art market in Pest throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

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Appendix: Analysis of Producers and Market Capacity

This chart makes use of archival records from catalogue entries and membership, as well as two essential anecdotal references, from Lyka and Gonda. Both allow a conlusion of approximately 1,000 artists by the year 1915. For the references for these calculations, see Chapter 3. A more nuanced task lies in determining what is an "active painter" on the Hungarian art market. Furthermore, though they may not have achieved professional status or the ability to support themselves solely through the sale of artworks, nonetheless, if an artist's works hung in exhibition venues and was for sale, then the artist would be counted as an active producer in the market.

Total Number of Works Exhibited in a Year

Year	Pesti Műegylet	*OMKT*	Nemz. Sz.	Könyves K.	Ernst	Other	Total
1840	278						278
1841	330						330
1843	198						198
1845	250						250
1846	259						259
1847	186						186
1851	159						159
1852	161						161
1853	162						162
1854	507						507
1855	995						995
1856	483						483
No catalogues survive from the intervening years							
1875		115					115
1876		200					200
1877		574					574
1878		882					882
1879		779					779
1880		804					804
1881		665					665
1882		504					504
1883		229					229
1884		971					971
1885		670					670
1886		184					184
1887		244					244
1888		1027					1027
1889		1373					1373
1890		445					445
1891		637					637
1892		1077					1077
1893		989					989
1894		1127	166				1293

1895		791					791
1896		1587					1587
1897		388	124			203	715
1898		989	89				1078
1899		1431	473				1904
1900		773	878				1651
1901		1062	1013				2075
1902		1861	789				2650
1903		1973	1288				3261
1904		1580	1266				2846
1905		1256	1219				2475
1906		855	1105	602		382	2944
1907		2313	1068	1123		368	4872
1908		1734	1799	930		94	4557
1909		3842	1244	736		432	6665
1910		1791	892	900			4543
1911		1916	1300	286		409	4741
1912		795	867	587	641		3340
1913		2804	1770	114	1089		6667
1914		1619	1223	930	220		3992
1915			190				190
1916		1635	340				1975

Number of Works Exhibited at Each Exhibition

Year	Date	Location	Exhibition Title
1840		Vigadó	A Pesti Művészeti Egyesület által 1840-ben a Tánczterem Épületében Kiállitott Művek Lajstroma. Kunstwerke der Austellung welche der Pesther Verein im Jahre 1840 in kön. Stadt. Redouten-Gebäde verandstaltet hat.
1841		Vigadó	A Pesti Művészeti Egyesület által 1841-ben a Tánczterem Épületében Kiállított Művek Lajstroma
1843		Vigadó	A Pesti Művészeti Egyesület által 1843-ban a Tánczterem Épületében Kiállított Művek Lajstroma
1843		Vigadó	A Pesti Művészeti Egyesülethez 1843-ik évbe beküldött műveknek Pótlék Lajstroma
1845		Vigadó	A Pesti Művészeti Egyesület által 1845-ben a Tánczterem Épületében Kiállított Művek Lajstr
1846		Vigadó	A Pesti Művészeti Egyesület által 1846-ban a Tánczterem Épületében Kiállitott Művek Lajstroma
1846		Vigadó	A Pesti Művészeti Egyesülethez 1846-ik évbe beküldetett műveknek Pótlék Lajstroma
1847		Vigadó	A Pesti Művészeti Egyesület által 1847-ben a Tánczterem Épületében Kiállított Művek Lajstroma
1851		Nádor utcza 244.	A Pesti Művészeti Egyesület által 1851-ben a Nádor-utczában 244. szám alatt Kiállitott Művek Lajstroma
1852		Nemzeti Múzeum	A Pesti Művészeti Egyesület által 1852. évben, Pesten Nemzeti Múzeumban Kiállított Művek Lajstroma
1853	May	Diana Baths	A Pesti Művészeti Egyesület által 1853. május Kiállitott Művek Lajstroma
1853	July–Aug. 13	Diana Baths	A Pesti Művészeti Egyesület által 1853. Julius–Aug. 13-ig Kiállított Művek Lajstroma
1853	Dec. 15–Jan. 13	Diana Baths	A Pesti Művészeti Egyesület által 1853. Deczember 15–1854. Január 13-ig Kiállított Művek Lajstroma
1854	Jan. 15–Febr. 13	Diana Baths	A Pesti Művészeti Egyesület által 1854. Jan. 1 Febr. 13-ig Kiállított Művek Lajstroma
1854	March. 16–Apr. 11	Diana Baths	A Pesti Művészeti Egyesület által 1854. Márc. Ápr. 11-ig Kiállított Művek Lajstroma
1854	June 15–July 13	Diana Baths	A Pesti Művészeti Egyesület által 1854. Junius–Julius 13-ig Kiállított Művek Lajstroma
1854	July 15–Aug. 13	Diana Baths	A Pesti Művészeti Egyesület által 1854.Julius–Augusztus 13-ig Kiállított Művek Lajstroma
1854	Sept. 15.–Oct. 13	Diana Baths	A Pesti Művészeti Egyesület által 1854. September 15–October 13-ig Kiállított Művek Lajstroma
1854	Oct. 15.–Nov. 13	Diana Baths	A Pesti Művészeti Egyesület által 1854.October–November 13-ig Kiállított Művek Lajstroma

1854	Dec. 15–Jan. 13	Diana Baths	A Pesti Művészeti Egyesület által 1854. Deczember 15–1855. Január 13-ig Kiállított Művek Lajstroma
1855	Jan. 15–Febr. 13	Diana Baths	A Pesti Művészeti Egyesület által 1855. Január–Február 13-ig Kiállított Művek Lajstroma
1855	Febr. 15–March 13	Diana Baths	A Pesti Művészeti Egyesület által 1855. Február–Március 13-ig Kiállított Művek Lajstroma
1855	May 16–June 13	Diana Baths	A Pesti Művészeti Egyesület által 1855. Május–Junius 13-ig Kiállított Művek Lajstroma
1855	June 15–July 13	Diana Baths	A Pesti Művészeti Egyesület által 1855. Junius–Julius 13-ig Kiállított Művek Lajstroma
1855	July 15–Aug. 13	Diana Baths	A Pesti Művészeti Egyesület által 1855. Julius–Augusztus 13-ig Kiállított Művek Lajstroma
1855	Aug. 15–Sept. 13	Diana Baths	A Pesti Művészeti Egyesület által 1855. Augusztus 15–September 13-ig Kiállított Művek Lajstroma
1855	Sept. 15–Oct. 13	Diana Baths	A Pesti Művészeti Egyesület által 1855. September 15–Octóber 13-ig Kiállított Művek Lajstroma
1855	Oct. 15–Nov. 13	Diana Baths	A Pesti Művészeti Egyesület által 1855. Octóber–November 13-ig Kiállított Művek Lajstroma
1855	Nov. 15–Dec. 13	Diana Baths	A Pesti Művészeti Egyesület által 1855. November 15–Deczember 13-ig Kiállított Művek Lajstroma
1855		Diana Baths	A Pesti Műegylet Évkönyve 1855-re
1855	Dec. 15–Jan. 13	Diana Baths	A Pesti Művészeti Egyesület által 1855. Deczember 15–1856. Január 15-ig Kiállított Művek Lajstroma
1856	Jan. 15–Febr. 13	Diana Baths	A Pesti Művészeti Egyesület által 1856. Január–Február 13-ig Kiállított Művek Lajstroma
1856	Febr. 15–March 13	Diana Baths	A Pesti Művészeti Egyesület által 1856. Február–Márczius 13-ig Kiállított Művek lajstroma
1875		Academy of Sciences	Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulatban a Műcsarnokban Kiállitott Művek
1876		Academy of Sciences	Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulatban a Műcsarnokban Kiállitott Művek
1876		Academy of Sciences	Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulatban 1876-ban néhai Izsó Miklós hátrahagyott műveiből rendezett Kiállítás jegyzéke
1877	November	1st Műcsarnok	Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészati Társulat Műcsarnokának Megnyitása alkalmából Kiállított Művek
1877	December 16.	1st Műcsarnok	Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Műcsarnokában Kiállított Művek sorozata
1878	March 15.	1st Műcsarnok	Az Orsz. Magyar Képzőműv. Társ. Műcsarnokában Barabás Miklós félszázados jubileuma alkalmából rendezett Kiállítás Műveinek Sorozata

1878	July 6	1st Műcsarnok	Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Műcsarnokában Makart János "A FÖLD ÉS A TENGER ADOMÁNYAI" c. képeinek, s ezekkel egyidőben kiállított más művek sorozata
1878	October	1st Műcsarnok	Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Műcsarnokában rendezett Nagy Nemzetközi Kiállítás Műveinek sorozata
1878	November	1st Műcsarnok	Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Műcsarnokában rendezett Nemzetközi Kiállítás Deák-szobor Pályázat Műveinek sorozata
1879	March	1st Műcsarnok	Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Műcsarnokában rendezett Nemzetközi Nagy Kiállítás Műveinek sorozata
1879	April	1st Műcsarnok	Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Műcsarnokában rendezett Nagy Nemzetközi Kiállítás Műveinek sorozata
1879	November	1st Műcsarnok	Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Műcsarnokában rendezett Nemzetközi Nagy Kiállítás Műveinek sorozata
1879	December	1st Műcsarnok	Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Műcsarnokában rendezett Nemzetközi Nagy Kiállítás Műveinek sorozata
1880	January	1st Műcsarnok	Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Műcsarnokában rendezett Jótékonycélú Kiállítás Tárgymagyarázata
1880	March 28	1st Műcsarnok	Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Műcsarnokában rendezett Tavaszi Kiállítás Tárgymagyarázata
1880	May	1st Műcsarnok	Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Műcsarnokában rendezett Tavaszi Kiállítás Második Sorozatának Tárgymagyarázata
1880	October	1st Műcsarnok	Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Műcsarnokában rendezett Őszi Kiállítás Első Sorozatának Tárgymagyarázata
1880	November	1st Műcsarnok	Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Műcsarnokában rendezett Őszi Kiállítás Második Sorozatának Tárgymagyarázata
1881	April	1st Műcsarnok	Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Műcsarnokában rendezett Tavaszi Kiállítás Első Sorozatának Tárgymagyarázata
1881		1st Műcsarnok	Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Műcsarnokában 1881. évben rendezett Tavaszi Kiállítás Második Sorozatának Tárgymagyarázata
1881		1st Műcsarnok	Képes Tárgymutató az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1881. évi Őszi Kiállításáról

1882		1st Műcsarnok	Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészati Társulat Műcsarnokában 1882. évben rendezett Őszi Kiállítás Első Sorozatának Tárgymutatója
1882		1st Műcsarnok	Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Műcsarnokában 1882. évben rendezett Őszi Kiállítás Második Sorozatának Tárgymutatója
1883		1st Műcsarnok	Képes Tárgymutató az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1883. évi Őszi Kiállításának Első Sorozatára
1884		1st Műcsarnok	Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Műcsarnokában 1884. évben rendezett Őszi Kiállítás Tárgymutatója
1884		1st Műcsarnok	Képes Tárgymutató az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1884. évi Őszi Kiállításáról
1884		1st Műcsarnok	Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Műcsarnok, Tárgymutató Benczúr Gyulának A Magyar Általános Biztosító Társulat Alakuló Közgyűlését ábrázoló nagy festménye, s más Művek Kiállításához
1884		1st Műcsarnok	Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Műcsarnokában 1885. évben rendezett Őszi Kiállításának Tárgymutatója
1885		1st Műcsarnok	Budapesti Országos Általános Kiállítás, A Képzőművészeti Csoport Képes Tárgymutatója
1885	January	1st Műcsarnok	Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Műcsarnokában 1885. január 11-én megnyitott Kiállításnak Tárgymutatója
1885	June	1st Műcsarnok	Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Műcsarnokában 1885. június 10-én megnyílt Nemzetközi Műkiállítás Tárgymutatója
1886		1st Műcsarnok	Képes Tárgymutató az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1886. évi Őszi Kiállításának Első Sorozatára
1887		1st Műcsarnok	Képes Tárgymutató az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1887. évi Őszi Kiállításának Első Sorozatára
1888		1st Műcsarnok	Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Műcsarnok, Tárgymutató Böcklin Arnold műveiből a Műcsarnokban rendezett külön kiállításához
1888		1st Műcsarnok	Tárgymutató a Budapesti I. Gyermek-menhely a Műcsarnokban, magántulajdonban levő régi modern képekből rendezett Kiállításhoz
1888		1st Műcsarnok	Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Műcsarnokában 1888.-ban rendezett Őszi Kiállítás Első Sorozatának Tárgymutatója I.
1888		1st Műcsarnok	Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Műcsarnok, Tárgymutató Zichy Mihály rajzainak Kiállításához

1889		1st Műcsarnok	Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Műcsarnok, Tárgymutató Matejko "Kosciuszko Raclaviczénél" című történelmi képének, Més Géza Hátrahagyott Műveinek és részben Műárverésre szánt Műtárgyaknak Kiállításához
1889–90		1st Műcsarnok	Képes Tárgymutató az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1889/1890. évi Téli Kiállításához
1890		1st Műcsarnok	Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Műcsarnok, Tárgymutató Ligeti Antal hátrahagyott Műveinek Kiállításához
1890		1st Műcsarnok	Képes Tárgymutató az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1890. évi Téli Kiállításához
1891		1st Műcsarnok	Tárgymutató a Belga Vízfestményeknek és Si Gustavo "Nagy Sándor Persepolisban" című festményének Kiállításához
1891–92		1st Műcsarnok	Képes Tárgymutató az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1891/92. évi Téli Kiállításhoz
1892–93		1st Műcsarnok	Képes Tárgymutató az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1892/93. évi Téli Kiállításához
1893	March 28.	1st Műcsarnok	Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Műcsarnokában Magyar Művek Kiállítása. Len Arczkép-gyüjteménye és Schecherewski W. "S felé" czímű nagy olajképe
1893–94		1st Műcsarnok	Képes Tárgymutató az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1893/94. évi Téli Kiállításához
1894		1st Műcsarnok	Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Műcsarnokában 1894-ben rendezett Tavaszi Kiállitásának Tárgymutatója
1894	October	Baross Kávéház	A Nemzeti Szalon Magyar Képzőművészek és Műpártolók Egyesülete Állandó Műkiállításának Tárgymutatója I. Sorozat
1894–95		1st Műcsarnok	Képes Tárgymutató az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1894/95. évi Téli Kiállításához
1895		1st Műcsarnok	Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Walter Crane Kiállítása 1895-ben
1895–96		1st Műcsarnok	Képes Tárgymutató az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1895/96. évi Téli Kiállításához
1896		2nd Műcsarnok	Ezredéves Országos Kiállítás 1896. A Képzőművészeti Csoport Képes Tárgymutatója a Műcsarnok alaprajzával
1897	December	Baross Kávéház	A Nemzeti Szalon 1897. évi Rendkívüli Kiállítása
1897	December	1st Műcsarnok	Régi Műcsarnok. Nagybányai festők Kiállítása
1897		2nd Műcsarnok	Képes Tárgymutató az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társ. Tavaszi Nemzetközi Kiállításához 1897.

1898		2nd Műcsarnok	Tárgymutató Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1898. évi Tavaszi Nemzetközi Kiállításhoz
1898–99	Dec. 16–Jan. 20	Cziráky palota	Tárgymutató a "Nemzeti Szalon" Karácsonyi Kiállításához
1898–99		2nd Műcsarnok	Tárgymutató az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1898/99. évi Téli Kiállítására
1899	Febr. 15–March 5	Cziráky palota	Tárgymutató a "Nemzeti Szalon" Markó Gyüjteményének Kiállítására
1899	Sept. 21–Oct. 30	Cziráky palota	A Nemzeti Szalon Kiállítása, Wágner Sándor rajzainak, tanulmányainak és festményeinek Gyüjteményes Kiállítása
1899		2nd Műcsarnok	Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat évi Tavaszi Nemzetközi Kiállítására
1899		Cziráky palota	A Nemzeti Szalon Téli Tárlatának Katalógusa
1899		Cziráky palota	Nemzeti Szalon II. Terem a Nagybányai Hollós iskola Gyüjteményes Kiállítása
1899–1900		2nd Műcsarnok	Tárgymutató az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1899/1900. évi Téli Kiállítására
1900		2nd Műcsarnok	Tárgymutató az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1900. évi Tavaszi Kiállítására
1900	May–June	Cziráky palota	A Nemzeti Szalon Tavaszi Kiállításának Katalógusa 1900. év Május–Junius Budapest–Arad
1900	Nov.–Dec.	Cziráky palota	A Nemzeti Szalon Téli Kiállításának Katalógusa 1900. év November–December
1900		Cziráky palota	A Nemzeti Szalon Katalógusa, Székely Bertalan Műveinek Kollektív Kiállítása és G Nemzetközi Kiállítás
1901		Cziráky palota	Kalauz és Képes tárgymutató a Nemzeti Szalon Nemzetközi Kiállítására
1901		Cziráky palota	A Nemzeti Szalon Tavaszi Kiállítása Első Sorozatának Katalógusa
1901		2nd Műcsarnok	Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat, 1. Tavaszi Nemzetközi Kiállítás
1901		Cziráky palota	A Nemzeti Szalon Őszi Kiállításának Katalógusa
1901		Cziráky palota	A Nemzeti Szalon Téli Kiállításának Katalógusa
1901–02		2nd Műcsarnok	Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1901/1902. Téli Kiállítás
1902		2nd Műcsarnok	Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1. Tavaszi Nemzetközi Kiállítás
1902		Cziráky palota	A Nemzeti Szalon Tavaszi Kiállításának Katalógusa 1902
1902		Cziráky palota	A Nemzeti Szalon Őszi Kiállításának Katalógusa 1902.

1902		Cziráky palota	A Nemzeti Szalon Paál László művei 1902.
1902		Cziráky palota	A Nemzeti Szalon Zichí Mihály Művei 1902.
1902–03		Cziráky palota	A Nemzeti Szalon Téli Kiállításának Katalógusa 1902/1903.
1902–03		2nd Műcsarnok	Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1902/1903. évi Téli Kiállítás
1903		Cziráky palota	A Nemzeti Szalon Ferenczy Károly képei 1903.
1903		2nd Műcsarnok	Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1. Tavaszi Nemzetközi Kiállítás
1903		Cziráky palota	A Nemzeti Szalon MargitayTihamér művei 1903.
1903		Cziráky palota	A Nemzeti Szalon Tavaszi Kiállításának Katalógusa 1903.
1903		Cziráky palota	A Nemzeti Szalon Vízfestmény, Rajz- és Metszet Kiállításának Katalógusa
1903–04	Dec. 20.–Jan. 22.	Cziráky palota	A Nemzeti Szalon Téli Tárlata 1903/1904.
1903–04		2nd Műcsarnok	Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1903/1904 évi Téli Kiállítás
1904	Jan. 24.–Febr. 21.	Cziráky palota	Művészettörténeti Kiállítás I. A XVIII. század mesterei. II. A Francia Barbizoni Iskola Mesterei, Nemzeti Szalon
1904		Cziráky palota	A Nemzeti Szalon 1904. évi Őszi Kiállításának Katalógusa
1904		Cziráky palota	A Nemzeti Szalon Madarász Victor történeti művei 1904.
1904	November	Cziráky palota	A Nemzeti Szalon Strobentz Frigyes Műveinek Kollektív Kiállítása
1904		Cziráky palota	A Nemzeti Szalon Második Vízfestmény, Rajz Metszet Kiállításának Katalógusa
1904		2nd Műcsarnok	Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat T Kiállítás 1904.
1904		Cziráky palota	A Nemzeti Szalon 1904. évi Téli Kiállításának Katalógusa
1904–05		2nd Műcsarnok	Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat T Kiállítás 1904/1905.
1905		2nd Műcsarnok	Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat T Nemzetközi Kiállítás 1905.
1905		Cziráky palota	A Nemzeti Szalon Olgyay Ferenc műveinek Gyüjteményes Kiállítása 1905.
1905	January	Cziráky palota	A Nemzeti Szalon Szinyei Merse Pál műveinek Gyüjteményes Kiállítása 1905

1905		Cziráky palota	A Nemzeti Szalon 1905. évi Tavaszi és III. Grafikai Kiállításának Katalógusa
1905	Febr. 16	Cziráky palota	A Nemzeti Szalon Szikszay Ferenc Gyüjtemény Kiállítása 1905.
1905	March 15	Cziráky palota	A Nemzeti Szalon Őszi- és Szenes Fülöp arckép Kiállításának Katalógusa 1905.
1905		Cziráky palota	A Nemzeti Szalon Fényes Adolf Gyüjteménye Kiállítása 1905.
1905		Cziráky palota	A Nemzeti Szalon Karácsonyi Tárlata és Maka képeinek Kiállítása 1905
1905		Cziráky palota	A Nemzeti Szalon 1906. évi és IV-dik Grafikai Kiállításának Katalógusa 1906.
1906	February–March	Cziráky palota	Nemzeti Szalon Grünwald Iványi Béla Gyüjtemény Kiállítása 1906.
1906	March	Philanthia Terem	Szablya-Frischauf Ferenc és tanítványai
1906	September	Cziráky palota	Nemzeti Szalon Kacziány Ödön Kiállítása 1906.
1906		Cziráky palota	Nemzeti Szalon Magyar Mannheimer Gusztáv gyüjteményes Kiállítása 1906.
1906		Királyi bérpalota	Szikszay Ferencz Gyüjteményes Kiállítása
1906		Cziráky palota	Nemzeti Szalon Vaszary János Kiállítása 1906.
1906		Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Könyves Kálmán Szalon Kézdi-Kovács László Műveinek Gyüjteményes Kiállítása
1906		Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Magyar Festmények Kiállítása a Könyves Kálmán Szalonban, Pállya Celestin műveinek Gyüjteményes Kiállítása
1906		Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Könyves Kálmán Szalon Rippl-Rónai József Kiállításához Katalógus
1906–07		2nd Műcsarnok	Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat T Nemzetközi Kiállítás 1906/1907.
1907	February	Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Szikszay Kiállítás “Könyves Kálmán” Szalonjában
1907		Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Ujváry Ignácz Gyüjteményes Kiállítása “Könyves Kálmán” Szalonjában
1907		Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Magyar Festmények Kiállítása a “Könyves Kálmán" Szalonjában, Vajda Zsigmond műveinek gyüjteményes Kiállítása
1907		Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Charles J. Palmié Gyüjteményes Kiállítása “Könyves Kálmán” Szalonjában
1907		Könyves Kálmán Szalon	“IFJUSÁG” Fiatal modern Magyar Festők Művészeti Kiállítása
1907		Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Kobler Leo Gyüjtemények Kiállítása “Könyves Kálmán” Szalonjában

1907		Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Nagy Zsigmond Gyüjteményes Kiállítása "Könyves Kálmán" Szalonjában
1907		Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Pállya Carolus Gyüjteményes Kiállítása "Könyves Kálmán" Szalonjában
1907		Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Pentelei Molnár János Gyüjteményes Kiállítás "Könyves Kálmán" Szalonjában
1907		2nd Műcsarnok	Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat T Kiállítás 1907.
1907	March	Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon Első Csoportkiállításának Katalógusa 1907. Március
1907	Arpil	Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon László Fülöp Kiállításának Katalógusa 1907.
1907	May	Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon Tavaszi Kiállításának Katalógusa 1907. Május
1907		Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon Őszi Kiállításának Katalógusa
1907	November	Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon Márk Lajos Gyüjteményes Kiállításának Katalógusa 1907.
1907	December	Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon Modern Francia Nagymesterek Tárlata, Magyar Művészek Karácsonyi Művására Éremkedvelők Egyesületének Kiállítása
1907		Uránia (Királyi bérpalota)	Műintézet Márffy Ödön és Gulácsy Lajos képeinek Katalógusa
1907–08		2nd Műcsarnok	Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat T Nemzetközi Kiállítás 1907/1908.
1908	February	Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon Bosznay István Kiállítása 1908. Február-Március
1908	February	Cziráky palota	A "KÉVE" Művészegyesület I. Kiállítása 1908. Február
1908	February	Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Zemplényi Tivadar Gyüjteményes Kiállítása Könyves Kálmán Szalonjában
1908	March	Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Déri Kálmán Gyüjteményes Kiállítása Könyves Kálmán Szalonjában
1908		Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Zombory Lajos Gyüjteményes Kiállítása Könyves Kálmáns Szalonjában
1908		Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon, Magyar Impresszionisták és Naturalisták köre 1908.
1908		2nd Műcsarnok	Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat T Kiállítás 1908.
1908	May	Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Hollósi Simon, Feiks Jenő, Feiks Alfréd, Jules Pascin, Kubin Alfréd, Kober Leo Kiállítása Könyves Kálmán Szalonjában
1908	May	Nemzeti Szalon	A Nemzeti Szalon V. Grafikai és Tavaszi Kiállításának Katalógusa 1908. Május

1908		Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Józsa Károly Gyüjtemények Kiállítása Könyves Kálmán Szalonjában
1908		Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Kober Leo II. Kiállítása Könyves Kálmán Szalonjában
1908		Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Varga Emil Gyüjteményes és Csuzy Károly Hagyatéki Kiállítása Könyves Kálmán Szalonjában
1908		Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Vészi Margit és Kubinyi Sándor Kiállítása Könyves Kálmán Szalonjában
1908	Sept.–October	Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon Őszi Kiállítás 1908.
1908	November	Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon Balló Ede Velazquez képei 1908. november
1908		Nemzeti Szalon	Paczka Ferenc és Cornélia Kiállítása a Nemzeti Szalonban 1908.
1908	December	Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon Téli Tárlat 1908 December
1908/1909		2nd Műcsarnok	Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat T Nemzetközi Kiállítás 1908/1909.
1909	January–February	Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Boemm Ritta Kiállítása Könyves Kálmán Szalonjában
1909	February–March	Nemzeti Szalon	Magyar Impresszionisták és Naturalisták köre Nemzeti Szalon 1909.
1909		2nd Műcsarnok	Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat T Kiállítás 1909.
1909		Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Tavaszi Kiállítás Könyves Kálmán Szalonjában
1909	May–June	Nemzeti Szalon	A Nemzeti Szalon Tavaszi Kiállítása 1909.
1909	September	Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Szeptemberi Kiállítás Könyves Kálmán Szalon
1909	Sept.–October	Nemzeti Szalon	Kőrösfői Kriesch Aladár, Nagy Sándorék és a Gödöllőiek Kiállítása a Nemzeti Szalonban 1909. szept.-okt. havában
1909		Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Őszi Kiállítás Könyves Kálmán Szalonjában
1909		Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Kövér Gyula Gyüjteményes Kiállítása Könyves Kálmán Szalonjában
1909	November	Nemzeti Szalon	A "KÉVE" Művészegyesület II. Kiállítása "Nemzeti Szalon" 1909.
1909		Nemzeti Szalon	Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Akvarellek, Pasztellek és Grafikai Művek Nemzeti Szalon Kiállítása 1909.
1909	December	Nemzeti Szalon	A Nemzeti Szalon Jubiláris Téli Tárlata 1909. December havában

1909–10		2nd Műcsarnok	Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat T Kiállítás 1909/1910.
1910	January–February	Nemzeti Szalon	Magyar Impresszionisták és Naturalisták köre Kiállítás Nemzeti Szalon 1910.
1910	February	Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Hollandi mesterek Kiállítása a Könyves Kálmán Szalonjában
1910		Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Feiks Jenő, Feiks Alfréd és Hollósy Simon tanítványainak Kiállítása a Könyves Kálmán Szalonjában
1910		Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Nemzetközi Humorisztikus Kiállítás a Könyves Kálmán Szalonjában
1910	March	Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon, Faragó Géza Gyüjteményes Kiállítása
1910	May–June	Könyves Kálmán Szalon	A Magyar Tenge Panorámája Crncic Klement festménye és a Belga Akvarellista klub csoport Kiállítása Könyves Kálmán Szalonjában
1910	May–Sept.	Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon Svájci Művészek (Societe de Peintres Sculpteurs et Architectes Suisses) Kiállítása
1910		2nd Műcsarnok	Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat T Kiállítás 1910.
1910		Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon Glatz Oszkár és Wildner Mári Műveinek Kollektív Kiállítása
1910	November	Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Paál László tájképeinek Második Sorozatos Kiállítása a Könyves Kálmán Társaság Nagymező utcai Szalonjában
1910	November	Könyves Kálmán Szalon	"SZTUKA" Lengyel Művészeti Egyesület Kiállítás Könyves Kálmán Szalonjában
1910	December	Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon Legitim Téli Tárlat valamint A Stokes és Jávor Pál Gyüjteményes Kiállítása
1910–11		2nd Műcsarnok	Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat T Kiállítás 1910/1911.
1911	January	Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Jan Francois Raffaéli és Skót mesterek Kiállítása Könyves Kálmán Szalonjában
1911		Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon Az Angol Művésznők (Women International Art Club) Kiállításának Katalógusa
1911		Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Női arcképek Kiállítása a Könyves Kálmán Szalonjában
1911		Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon "Nyolcak" Kiállítása
1911		2nd Műcsarnok	Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat B Lajos, Mihalik, Dániel, Papp Henrik hagyatéka Kiállítása 1911.
1911	February	Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon Kézdi-Kovács László Atelier-Kiállításának Katalógusa 1911.
1911	March–April	Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon A Magyar Grafikusok Egyesülete és a a Magyar Aquarell és Pasztellfestők Egyesület Együttes Kiállítása 1911.

1911	April	Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon A Magyar Képzőművésznők Egyesületének Harmadik rendes Tárlatának, és S. Kalivoda Kata Gyüjteményes Kiállításának Katalógusa
1911	May 28–June	Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon Tavaszi Tárlat, valamint Esső Erzsébet és Novák Andor Gyüjteményes Kiállítása
1911		Nemzeti Szalon	"KÉVE" Művészegyesület III. Kiállítása
1911		2nd Műcsarnok	Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat T Kiállítás 1911.
1911		Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Poór Bertalan Kiállítása a Könyves Kálmán Szalonjában
1911		2nd Műcsarnok	Az 1911. évi Őszi Kiállítás Katalógusa
1912	February	Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Modern Francia Festőművészek és Strom van Gravesande Hollandi grafikus Kiállítása Könyves Kálmán Szalonjában
1912	March	Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon. Faragó Géza és Juhász Árpád Gyüjteményes Kiállításának Katalógusa 1912
1912	April	Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Francia Grafikusok és Humoristák Kiállítása Könyves Kálmán Szalonjában
1912		Ernst Múzeum	Az Ernst Muzeum Kiállításai I. Szinyei Merse Gyüjteményes Kiállításának Katalógusa
1912		Ernst Múzeum	Az Ernst Muzeum Kiállításai III. Zuloaga és Brangwyn Gyüjteményes Kiállításának Katalógusa
1912		Ernst Múzeum	Ernst Múzeum Kiállításai IV. Fényes Adolf festményei és rajzai Gyüjteményes Kiállítása
1912		Ernst Múzeum	Ernst Múzeum Kiállításai V. Vadász Miklós rajzainak Gyüjteményes Kiállítása
1912		Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon Feszty Árpád Gyüjteményes Kiállításának Katalógusa
1912	November	Könyves Kálmán Szalon	E. M. Lilien Grafikai Kiállítása Könyves Kálmán Szalonjában
1912	Oct. 6–Nov. 3	Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon Heller Adolf (német), Steppes Edmund (bajor), Rubovics Márk festőművészek valamint Wallner Wolfgang (osztrák) szobrászművész Csoportkiállításának Katalógusa
1912–13	Dec.–Jan.	Nemzeti Szalon	A Nemzeti Szalon Téli Tárlatának Katalógusa
1912–13		2nd Műcsarnok	Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat T Kiállítás 1912/1913.
1913	January	Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon A Futuristák és Expressionist Kiállításának Katalógusa
1913	March	Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon a "KÉVE'" IV. Kiállítása
1913	April–May	Nemzeti Szalon	A Nemzeti Szalon Tavaszi Tárlatának és Horv János Szoborkollekciójának Katalógusa

1913	May–June	Nemzeti Szalon	A Nemzeti Szalon. A Magyar Képzőművésznő Egyesülete Ötödik Rendes Tárlatának és Pac Ferencné gyüjteményes Kiállításának Katalógusa
1913	Nov.–Dec.	Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon. A Nyolcak Harmadik Tárlatának Katalógusa 1912.
1913		Ernst Múzeum	Ernst Múzeum Kiállításai VIII. Ferenczy Károl festményeinek és rajzainak Gyüjteményes Kiállítása
1913		Ernst Múzeum	Ernst Múzeum Kiállításai XI. A XIX. Század Francia Mesterei
1913		Ernst Múzeum	Ernst Múzeum Kiállításai XIII. Első Csoportkiállítás (Mányoky és Kupeczky, Szinyei Merse, Csók, Fényes, Ferenczy, Herman, Grünwald, Iványi, Sámuel, Vadász és a Budapesti Textilművész Műhely Műveiből)
1913		Ernst Múzeum	Az Ernst Múzeum Kiállításai Iványi-Grünwald festményeinek és Magyar Műgyüjtemények Sonnenfeld Zsigmond gyüjteményeiből
1913		Ernst Múzeum	Az Ernst Múzeum Kiállításai IX. Ligeti Miklós Szoborműveinek Gyüjteményes Kiállítása
1913		Ernst Múzeum	Az Ernst Műzeum Kiállításai X. Magyar Biedermeyer Művészet
1913		Ernst Múzeum	Az Ernst Múzeum Kiállításai XII. Magyar Mannheimer Gusztáv Kiállítása
1913		Ernst Múzeum	Az Ernst Múzeum Kiállításai VI. Francia Impresszionisták (Manet) és Herman Lipót Gyüjteményes Kiállítása
1913		Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon A Magyar Grafikusok Egyesülete és a Magyar Aquarell és Pasztellfestők Egyesület Kiállításának Katalógusa 1913.
1913		Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Balla Béla, Iritz Sándor és Pataky Sándor Kiállítása Könyves Kálmán Társulat Szalonjában
1913	December	Nemzeti Szalon	A Nemzeti Szalon Jubiláris Téli Kiállításának és Munkácsy Mihály Gyüjteményének Katalógusa
1913		2nd Műcsarnok	Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat T Kiállítás 1913.
1913–14		2nd Műcsarnok	Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1913/1914.-ik évi Téli Kiállítás Tárgymutatója
1914	January	Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Boromisza Tibor Kiállítása A Könyves Kálmán Társaság Szalonjában
1914	February	Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Struck Hermann grafikai műveinek Kiállítása a Könyves Kálmán Társulat Szalonjában
1914		2nd Műcsarnok	Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1. Tavaszi Kiállítás
1914		Ernst Múzeum	Ernst Múzeum Kiállításai Báró Hatvani Ferenc festményeinek Gyüjteményes Kiállítása

1914		Ernst Múzeum	Ernst Múzeum Kiállításai Munkácsy Mihály Jubileumi Kiállítása
1914		Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Márton Lajos Iparművész munkáiból a Könyves Kálmán Részvénytársaság Szalonjában rendes Kiállítás Katalógusa
1914		Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon A Modern Angol Grafikus Művészet Kiállításának Katalógusa
1914	February	Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon Az Ifjú Művészek Egyesülete Harmadik Kiállításának Katalógusa
1914	February	Nemzeti Szalon	XX.Művészeti Esztendő Galimberti Sándor és Dénes Valéria Kiállításának Katalógusa Nemzeti Szalon 1914.
1914	March	Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon Magyar Képzőművésznők Egyesülete Hatodik rendes Tárlatának Katalógusa
1914	May–June	Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon Tavaszi Kiállításának Katalógusa 1914.
1914–15	Dec.–Jan.	Nemzeti Szalon	A Nemzeti Szalon Téli Kiállításának Katalógusa 1914. December–1915. Január
1916		Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon Tavaszi Kiállításának Katalógusa 1916.
1916	January–February	Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon A Császári és Királyi Sajtóhadiszállás Műkiállításának Katalógusa
1916	March	Nemzeti Szalon	Nemzeti Szalon A Magyar Képzőművésznők Egyesületének Nyolcadik rendes Tárlatának Katalógusa
1916		Könyves Kálmán Szalon	Az Erdélyrészi Országgy. képviselők által Dán Gábor V.B.T.T. védnöksége alatt az Erdélyi Menekültek javára Nagy István grafikai munkáinak Könyves Kálmán Szalonjában rendezett Kiállítás Katalógusa

Notes

Introduction

[1] Patricia Mainardi, *The End of the Salon: Art and the State in the Early Third Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 160–171.

[2] Robert Jensen, *Marketing Modernism in Fin de Siècle Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 135–136.

[3] Maria Makela, *The Munich Secession: Art and Artists in Turn-of-the-Century Munich* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press: 1990), 29.

[4] Makela, *The Munich Secession,* 58.

[5] For example, only those who had exhibited for 3 consecutive years would have voting rights. See: "Statuten des Vereins Bildender Künstler Münchens" [Statues of the Munich Society of Visual Artists]. Makela, *The Munich Secession,* 60.

[6] By his own account, Kandinsky sent work to the Munich Secession three times and was rejected each time. See: Will Grohmann, *Wassily Kandinsky. Life and Work*, trans. Norbert Guterman (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1958), 42. Klee also wrote of repeated rejection. See: *The Diaries of Paul Klee* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1973), 212, 225.

[7] See: Annegret Hoberg und Helmut Friedel, ed., *Der Blaue Reiter und das Neue Bild, Von der Neuen Künstlervereinigung München zum Blauen Reiter* (Munich: Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Prestel, 1999).

[8] Paret, *The Berlin Secession,* 28.

[9] Heinrich Deiters, *Geschichte der Allgemeinen Deutschen Kunstgenossenschaft* (Düsseldorf, 1906), 38. Translated and contained in Paret.

[10] Paret, *The Berlin Secession,* 34.

[11] *Katalog der Deutschen Kunstausstellun der "Berlin Secession"* (Berlin, 1899), 13–15. Translated and contained in Paret.

[12] Peter Vergo, *Art in Vienna, 1898–1918* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1975), 23.

[13] Ludwig Hevesi, *Acht Jahre Secession* (Vienna: Carl Koregen, 1906), 120–121.

[14] Ilona Sármány-Parsons, *Viennese Painting at the Turn of the Century* (Budapest: Corvina, 1991), 19–20.

[15] Elizabeth Clegg, *Art, Design, and Architecture in Central Europe 1890–1920* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 105.

[16] Karl Wittgenstein provided 1/3 of the financing for the building of the Secession.

[17] First in the Philanthia terem at Váci u. 9, then the Erzsébetvárosi Casino, and later the renovated Zichy Palace.

[18] Vassiliki Kolocotroni, Jane Goldman, Olga Taxidou, eds., *Modernism: An Anthology of Sources and Documents* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998). From the Introduction, xvii.

[19] Frank Kermode, *The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, (1966) 2000).

[20] Bernard Smith, *Modernism's History: A Study in Twentieth-century Art and Ideas*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 11.

[21] Ibid., 53.

[22] See *The Eight* (Pécs: Janus Pannonius Múzeum, 2010). This was the English-language catalogue to the *Nyolcak* Exhibition in Pécs, 2010, as part of the city's 2010 European Capital of Culture events.

[23] Ilona Sármány-Parsons, "Constructing the Canon of Modern Hungarian Painting, 1890–1918," *Centropa*, vol. 8, no. 3, 2008, 225.

[24] Ilona Sármány-Parsons, "München Modernsége. Az 1880-as évek második fele és a Secession megszületése," *München Magyarul* (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2009)

[25] In some cases, as with Szinyei-Merse, as early as 1873 with Picnic in May.

[26] "In-tune with its own age" is a direct translation of Ludwig Hevesi's favorite term to label modern works of art as *zeitgemaß*.

Chapter 1

[1] *Kazinczy Ferenc levelezése*, vol. I–XXI. ed. János Váczy (Budapest, 1890–1911). From Júlia Szabó, *Painting in Nineteenth Century Hungary* (Budapest: Corvina, 1985).

[2] Júlia Szabó, *Painting in Nineteenth Century Hungary* (Budapest: Corvina, 1985), 9–11.

[3] The movement of Italians from the Empire's territories there to the capital was immensely influential upon 18th-century Viennese culture, especially in spheres of music, art, and architecture. See: *200 Jahre, Geschichte der Firmen Artaria. Compagnie Freytag-Berndt und Artaria. Ein Rückblick auf 200 Jahre Wiener Privat-kartographie 1770–1970* (Vienna; Innsbrück: Freytag, Berndt und Artaria, 1970). And also, Hedvig Szabolcsi, "A bécsi Artaria magyar kapcsolatairól," in *Angyalokra szükség van. Tanulmányok Bernáth Mária tiszteletére*, ed. András Edit (Budapest: MTA Műv. Tört. Kutatóintézet, 2005), 15–19.

[4] Hans Peter Thurn, *Der Kunsthändler: Wandlungen eines Berufes* (Munich: Hirmer, 1994), 91.

[5] Johannes Dorflinger, "Time and Cost of Copperplate Engraving. Illustrated by Early Nineteenth Century Maps from the Viennese Firm Artaria & Co," *Imago Mundi*, vol. 35, 1983, 58–66.

[6] Thomas F. Heck, *Der Musikverlag Artaria & Comp.: Geschichte und Probleme der Druckproduktion* (Vienna: Institut für Österreichische Musikdokumentation, 1977), 78–79.

[7] Szabolcsi, "A bécsi Artaria magyar kapcsolatairól," 18.

[8] Ibid., 19.

[9] Heck, *Der Musikverlag Artaria & Comp.*, 79.

[10] Károly Haraszti, *A magyar könyvkiadás* és *könyvkereskedelem a múlt század első felében* (Budapest: Könyvtári Szemle, 1914), 76–81.

[11] István Gazda, *Könyvkereskedők a régi Váci utcában a pesti könyvnyomtatás első száz évében* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988), 2.

[12] Ferencz Kollányi, ed. *Magyar Könyvszemle*, vol. XVIII, no. 2, April–June 1910, 175.

[13] Gazda, *Könyvkereskedők a régi Váci utcában,* 9.

[14] Gazda, *Könyvkereskedők a régi Váci utcában,* 12. The building would later be known as the *Podmaniczky Ház*.

[15] György Kókay, "Kármán József és az Uránia," In *A Magyar Sajtó Története I: 1705–1848* (Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Irodalomtudományi Intézete, 1985), 223.

[16] Gazda, *Könyvkereskedők a régi Váci utcában*, 12.

[17] "A Kerepesi úti temető—II," Right side, #98 wall grave marker. *Budapesti Fővárosi Levéltár*.

[18] Vendel Hambuch, ed., *Németek Budapesten* (Budapest: Fővárosi Német Kisebbségi Önkormányzat, 1998), 473.

[19] They also published a 72-page catalogue of available Latin books (*Catalogus librorum latinorum*) in the same year. See: Haraszti, "A magyar könyvkiadás és könyvkereskedelem a múlt század első felében" (Budapest: *Könyvtári Szemle,* 1914), 76–81.

[20] Haraszti, *A magyar könyvkiadás* és *könyvkereskedelem a múlt század első felében*, 105–114.

[21] Károly Lyka, *A táblabiró világ művészete* (Budapest: Corvina, (1922) 1982), 375.

[22] Lyka, *A táblabiró világ művészete*, 375. This is today's District VI.

[23] Szabolcsi, "A bécsi Artaria Magyar kapcsolatairól," 19.

[24] Teréz Gerszi, *A magyar kőrajzolás története a XIX. században* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1960), 8.

[25] Zoltán Nagy, *A magyar litográfia története a XIX. században* (Budapest: author's dissertation, 1934), 32. Here and other times frequently cited in Gerszi, *A magyar kőrajzolás története a XIX. században*, 11.

[26] Sándor Várnai, "A magyar iparművészet úttörői," *Magyar Iparművészet*, vol. 11., no. 7, 1908, 272.

[27] *Hasznos Mulatságok*, 1821, 66, 118. Referenced in Gerszi, *A magyar kőrajzolás története,* 12.

[28] Kálmán Isoz, "A cenzúra és az első pest-budai kőnyomdászok," *Historia. Pest-budai emléklapok I* (Budapest: 1928), 27. In Gerszi, *A magyar kőrajzolás története,* 20.

[29] Gerszi, *A magyar kőrajzolás története,* 14.

[30] *Hasznos Mulatság*, 1828, no. 2, 257–259. And also see: "Egy elfelejtett magyar történelmi festőről (Wántza Mihály, 1780–1854)," *Vasárnapi Ujság*, vol. 57, no. 8, (1910), 164.

[31] János Reizner, *Szeged története* (Szeged: Szegedi Tudományegyetem Egyetemi Könyvtár, (1899) 2004), 371. Notes the visit of Wantza's troupe to Szeged, where they enjoyed great success in 1823.

[32] Pesti Művészeti Egyesület catalogue for the 1841 exhibition. Lot 308, Mihály Wáncza, *Egyveleg* [Concoction].

[33] *Hasznos Mulatságok*, 1828, no. 2, 257–259.

[34] Otto Erich Deutsch, "The Numbering of Beethoven's Minor Works," *Music Library Association*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1946, 38.

[35] Gazda, *Könyvkereskedők a régi Váci utcában,* 17.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ilona Mona, "Hungarian Music Publication, 1774–1867," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1974), 264.

[38] The quotation is drawn from Szabó, *Painting in Nineteenth Century Hungary*, 112. She also speculates that the painting may have been on display at the shop of Lichtl's rival, Ferdinánd Tomola.

[39] *Honművész*, 1834, 100.

[40] *Honművész*, 1837, 64.

[41] Mona, "Hungarian Music Publication 1774–1867," 265.

[42] *Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon 1000–1990,* Kenyeres Ágnes, ed. Magyar Elektronikus Könyvtár, Entry for: Grimm Vincze.

[43] Mona, "Hungarian Music Publication 1774–1867," 265.

[44] Négyesi György, "A Pesti Sakkör történetéről," *MATTOLNA*, 2001.

[45] Mona, "Hungarian Music Publication 1774–1867," 265.

[46] *Pesther Handungszeitung*, 1843, 269. In Gerszi, *A magyar kőrajzolás története,* 44.

[47] The *Magyar Címertár* is conserved in the *OSZK.*

[48] Gerszi, *A magyar kőrajzolás története*, 38.

[49] Kálmán Benda and Erik Fügedi, *Tausend Jahre Stephanskrone* (Budapest: Corvina, 1988), 186.

[50] Vincze Grimm, *Theorie der nützlichen Künste, Lehrgedicht* (Pest: Gedr. bei Landerer u. Heckenast, 1849).

[51] László Novák, *A nyomdászat története* (Budapest: Világosság Ny., 1927–1929), 316.

[52] Vincze Grimm, "Chess at Aleppo," *The Chess Player's Chronicle*, 1851, 184–186.

[53] It should be noted that the 1888 Encyclopedia Britannica reports that he died in Anatolia, but that theory should be disproven by the fact that he is buried in Kerepesi Cemetery.

[54] István Széchenyi, *Hitel* (Budapest: Trattner-Károlyi, 1830), 174.

[55] *Honművés,* July 6, 1834.

[56] Emese Révész, *A Magyar Historizmus* (Budapest: Corvina, 2005), 49.

[57] Gábor Halász, "Ágoston Trefort," *Nyugat,* 1939, no. 2.

[58] Gabriella Szvoboda Dománszky, *A Pesti Műegylet története. A képzőművészeti nyilvánosság kezdetei a XIX. században Pest-Budán* (Miskolc: Miskolci Egyetem Kiadója, 2007), 59.

[59] Gabriella Szvoboda Dománszky, "A Pesti Műegylet története," *Budapesti Negyed,* no. 2, 2001, 3.

[60] *Pesti Hirlap*, 1841, 615. In Gerszi, *A magyar kőrajzolás története,* 38. The *Pesti Hirlap* article claimed that the poor quality of the copperplate etching did not justify the 5 forint cost, which, the article asserted, was the primary reason many people had joined the *Pesti Műegylet*.

[61] *Pester Tageblatt,* May 28, 1840. 308. In: Szvoboda Dománszky, *A Pesti Műegylet története*, 64.

[62] *Mákosfalvi Barabás Miklós Önéletrajza*, Bíró Béla, ed., (Kolozsvár [Cluj]: Erdélyi Szépműves céh, 1944), 172. In: Szvoboda Dománszky, *A Pesti Műegylet története*, 65.

[63] József Bayer, "Vázlatok a magyar művészet múltjából. IV. A 'Pesti Műegylet' és első kiállítása 1840-ben. V. A második műkiállítás Pesten s annak közhatása az irodalomban," *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 1916, vol. 26, no. 3, 258.

[64] Szvoboda Dománszky, *A Pesti Műegylet története*, 66.

[65] The term was first coined by Heinrich Heine in *feuilletons* he wrote about Liszt's performances in 1844.

[66] Stephen Sisa, *The Spirit of Hungary: A Panorama of Hungarian History and Culture* (Millington, NJ: Vista Court Books, 1993), 302. Liszt is reputed to have said: "Although, unfortunately, I don't speak Hungarian, I want to remain Hungarian in heart and mind from cradle to grave. I want to work for the development of Hungary's musical culture."

[67] *Magyar Festők* és *Grafikusok* Életrajzi *Lexikona*, vol. I (Nyíregyháza: NBA Kiadó, 2002), 155.

[68] Alternative dating of this painting is 1831. The work contains numerous enigmatic features which would seem to indicate strong pro-Hungarian and anti-Habsburg sentiments. *See:* Szabó, *Painting in Nineteenth Century Hungary*, 118–9.

[69] *Magyar Festők és Grafikusok* Életrajzi *Lexikona*, vol. II (Nyíregyháza: NBA Kiadó, 2002), 68.

[70] *A Pesti Művészeti Egyesület által 1840-ben a Városi Tánczterem* Épületben *kiállitott művek lajstroma—kunstwerke der Austellung welche der Pesther Kunst-Verein im Jahre 1840 in kön. Stadt. Redouten-Gebäde verandstaltet hat,* Catalogue (Pest: Trattner-Károlyi, 1840). The end of the catalogue lists artists by town of residence, and Marastoni is indicated as having his residence at *Pest Duna-sor Nákó-ház*.

[71] *Magyar Festők és Grafikusok Életrajzi Lexikona,* 68.

[72] Which he sold for 7 forints apiece. See: Kelemen Lajos in "Krónika," *Művészet*, vol. 10, no. 9, 1911).

[73] Klára Szarka, "Fémképek Pest-Budán (A fotográfia kezdetei)," *Ezredvég*, vol. IX, no. 2, (February, 1999).

[74] The term was *Magyarhonban.*

[75] "Krónika: Régi Magyar Művészek," *Művészet,* vol. XIV, no. 1 (1915), 92.

[76] Éva Bicskei, "Nők az Országos Magyar Királyi Mintarajztanoda-és Rajztanárképezdében, 1871 és 1908 között," in *A Mintarajztanodától a Képzőművészeti Főiskoláig* (Budapest: Magyar Képzőművészeti Egyetem, 2001).

[77] Pataky Lehel Zsolt, "Passzióból kastélyszínház és cigányzenekar," *Nyugati Jelen,* December, 2007.

[78] Bayer, "Vázlatok a magyar művészet múltjából," 262.

[79] "Krónika: Az Első Magyar Művészkiállítás," *Művészet*, vol. VIII, no. 6, (1909), 405. "Megjegyezzük még azt, hogy bár e prospektus a művészek magyar származását rendszeresen feltüntette, több helyen mégis elhanyagolta, holott úgy a művész magyaros neve, mint a mű magyaros tárgya ezt kívánatossá tette volna, így több elfelejtett művésznél nehéz lesz annak a megállapítása, vajjon magyar volt-e."

[80] Ibid. Jakab and his even more famous son, Rudolf (1812–1905), were, despite their portrayal of Hungarian landscape, in fact quite German, with Jakab having emigrated from Frankfurt am Main. Furthermore, they painted not just Hungarian but landscapes and vedutas throughout Central Europe.

[81] Bayer József, "A pesti Műegylet kezdemenyezői és első megtámadói," *Művészet,* vol. III (1904), 170–6.

[82] Ibid.

[83] From *Honművész,* vol. II, no. 65 (1840), in Bayer, "Vázlatok a magyar művészet múltjából," 262.

[84] From *Honművész,* vol. II, no. 101 (1840), in Bayer, "Vázlatok a magyar művészet múltjából," 263.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Miklós Szmrecsányi, "Visszapillantás az Orsz. M. Képzőművészeti Társulat 50 Éves Múltjára," *Művészet,* vol. X, no. 3 (1911), 99.

[87] First at today's street number 74, now part of the Fine Arts Academy and known as the old *Műcsarnok*; then later at Heroes' Square, today's *Műcsarnok*, in 1896.

[88] The *Nemzeti Szalon* would eventually be located on Erzsébet tér, and the *Művészház* would begin on Váci utca (and later move a number of times to other locations around Pest).

[89] Szvoboda Dománszky, "A Pesti Műegylet története," 3–4.

[90] Büki, *Zichy Mihály*, 110.

[91] Zsuzsanna Bakó, "Az 1848–49-es forradalom és szabadságharc ábrázolása és kultusza a 19. századi magyar festészetben," *Üzenet* (Spring 2003).

Chapter 2

[1] Miklós Szmrecsányi, "Visszapillantás," *Művészet,* vol. X, no. 3 (1911), 100.

[2] *A Pesti Műegylet—Kiállitott Művek Lajstroma*, Catalogue for Jan 15–Feb 13, 1856.

[3] From the recollections of Ferenc Ujházy as recorded in: Szmrecsányi, "Visszapillantás," 100.

[4] Sampling taken from 1855 and 1856 catalogues. Comparing only oil paintings is necessary because other artworks such as drawings, watercolors, and pastels tend to sell for 10–50% less than oil paintings by the same artist. Therefore, to improve the comparative value of the numbers, the sampling was restricted to oil paintings.

[5] *A Pesti Műegylet által kiállitott művek lajstroma*, catalogue, 1855.

[6] *Pesti Napló*, 1854. Aug. 22. This period is treated as a decade from 1840 until 1854, but only 10 years are considered, due to the Revolution of 1848 and its aftermath disrupting operation of the *Műegylet* for nearly 3 ½ years.

[7] Szmrecsányi, "Visszapillantás," 99.

[8] Zoltán Pipacs, "Adalékok a Képzőművészeti Társulat történetéhez: Levéltári Szemelvények az 1859–1861. évekből," in *Orsz. M. Képzőművészeti Társulat Évkönyve 1928,* 101.

[9] *MKCS OMKT* card catalogue: 13/1861–00069. This document is from the surviving card catalogue, which refers to documents which no longer exist. The archive of the *OMKT* was destroyed by a Soviet tank shell in the 1956 revolution. The detailed card catalog to the collection, however, was located elsewhere and therefore survived.

[10] *OMKT* Lt. 2–1861. Again, the document was destroyed but it is preserved in Pipacs, "Adalékok," 111.

[11] Szmrecsányi, "Visszapillantás," 101. It was located at Nagyhíd utca, at the location of what would be Deák Ferenc utca 9 at the time of Szmrecsányi's writing. It was the same street where Marastoni's First Hungarian Academy of Art had been located.

[12] Pipacs, "Adalékok,"116–7.

[13] *OMKT* Lt. 1862–103.

[14] The term was originally coined by Mikhail Bukunin and was popularized by Karl Kautsky. It appears in labor relations discourse throughout the twentieth century.

[15] Zoltán Pipacs, "Emlékek a Társulatunk multjából (1862–1877)", in *Orsz. M. Képzőművészeti Társulat Évkönyve 1929,* 116–118.

[16] Gergely Attiláné J. Baktai," Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat mint a művészeti élet irányítója 1880–1900,"*Ars Hungarica*, vol. 2 (1979), 284.

[17] Pipacs, "Emlékek," 131.

[18] *OMKT* Lt. 1863–104, in Pipacs, "Emlékek," 123.

[19] MKCS (Art History Research Group, affiliated with the Hungarian Academy of Sciences) *OMKT* card catalogue: 59/1863–00088 and 357/1863–00140

[20] *MKCS OMKT* card catalogue: 59/1863–00088, 340/1863–00137, 341/1863–00138, and 357/1863–00140.

[21] *MKCS OMKT* card catalogue: 75/1863–00094, 85/1863–00099, and 85/1863–00101.

[22] *MKCS OMKT* card catalogue: 86/1863–00102, 86/1863–00103.

[23] *MKCS OMKT* card catalogue: 35/1863–00078, 59/1863–00088, 67/1863–00093, 77/1863–00095, 80/1863–00097.

[24] *OMKT* Lt. 1863–63. The title was listed there as: *Elbeszélő honvéd.* The painting was lost and only rediscovered in the 1890s, when it was refered to as *Regélő honvéd.* See: Béla Lázár, "A Modern Művészet Kezdetei," *Művészet,* 1908, vol. VII, no. 7, 295.

[25] *OMKT* Lt. 1863–104. Gergely suggests that there were 2,240 visitors, which would mean that members would have accounted for another 540 visitors, which was in fact, exactly the number of members in 1863.

[26] The organization was granted the right to bear the name *Országos* by the local governing council in 1866. *OMKT* Lt. 1866–66 in Pipacs, "Emlékek," 121.

[27] Pipacs, "Emlékek," 121.

[28] Károly Lyka, "Az Esterházy-képtár története," *Művészet*, 1915, vol. XIV, no. 9, 441–6.

[29] Pipacs, "Emlékek," 121.

[30] Gergely, "Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat," 294. These numbers were calculated from membership lists in the 1896 *Közlemény* [Bulletin].

[31] *OMKT* Lt. 1869–133. In Pipacs, "Emlékek," 121

[32] Pipacs, "Emlékek," 129.

[33] *OMKT* Lt. 1867–111. In Pipacs, "Emlékek," 129.

[34] See Gergely, "Az Országos…", 287 for more of the controversies that ran through the pages of *Műcsarnok.*

[35] Pipacs, "Emlékek," 134.

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] See Chapter 3 for more on the controversies surrounding the Paris Exhibition 1900.

[38] *OMKT* Lt. 1872–78. In Pipacs, "Emlékek," 134.

[39] Márta Branczik and Zsuzsanna Demeter, *Budapesti építkezések állomásai; Stations of Constructions in Budapest,* Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 182.

[40] *OMKT* catalogues from 1875, 1876, 1877.

[41] *OMKT* Lt. 1877–1085. In Pipacs, "Emlékek," 137.

[42] The Fine Arts University arose from the Technical Drawing School (*Mintarajziskola*). The building's current darkened façade and uncertain purpose mean that few know its history, and most know it only as the puppet theater (which operates in the basement).

[43] See *Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Műcsarnokában kiállított művek jegyzéke,* Catalogues, 1875, 1876.

[44] See the Conclusion for more on the current role of the *Műcsarnok.*

[45] See Zsuzsanna Bakó, "Történelmi festészetünk és a müncheni Akadémia," in Petra Kárai and Nóra Veszprémi, eds. *München Magyarul: Magyar művészek Münchenben, 1850–1914* (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2009), 67–83.

[46] So much so, that at an 1885 exhibition especially focusing on him, he exhibited a painting titled *Munich, Fine Arts Academy*. See *Tárgymutató Benczúr Gyulának*, catalogue, 1885.

[47] See Chapter 3, regarding János Hock.

[48] The earliest surviving catalogue (in the collection of the Fine Arts Museum library) is that for the 1875 salon: *Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Műcsarnokában kiállított művek jegyzéke,* Catalogue, 1875.

[49] *Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Műcsarnokában kiállított Makhart János "A tenger s a föld adományai" sorozata,* Catalogue, 1878.

[50] See for example: *Tárgymutató az Orsz. Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1899 évi Tavaszi Nemzetközi Kiállítására*, catalogue, 1898.

[51] The forint was worth 2 korona, and the korona became the sole denomination within the Empire by 1902.

[52] *A Műcsarnokban 1894 évben rendezett Tavaszi Kiállítás tárgymutatója,* Catalogue, 1894, 1–2.

[53] *OMKT Tavaszi 1913*, Catalogue, 1913.

[54] *Műcsarnok: Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Lapja,*1898, 63–5.

[55] *Műcsarnok: Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Lapja,*1899, 345–7.

[56] *Műcsarnok: Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Lapja,*1900, 321–2. Though it should be noted that the listing also announces that other painters are allowed to submit works.

[57] See below, and also Chapter 3. A likely explanation for the *OMKT*'s precipitous drop in collector spending in 1907 and 1908 would be because the period around 1906–07 witnessed a stunning explosion of new venue capacity (see Chapter 4), and all of those institutions would have been competing for the same pool of buyers. At one auction alone, Rippl-Rónai's at the *Könyves Kálmán* in 1906, 44,000 korona were spent on artworks—spending that would have been siphoned away from the *OMKT*.

[58] *Nemzeti Szalon* forms in 1894; the *Könyves Kálmán Szalon* begins having exhibitions in 1903; the *Eggenberger* creates a designated gallery in 1904; the *Uránia* opens in 1906 and the Művészház in 1909.

[59] For the years 1880–95, the currency would have been forints.

[60] See below for more on the battle between Lyka and Kézdi-Kovács, and see: "A magyar művészek a 'művészet' ellen," *Pesti Hírlap,* 1909, Oct. 31, 9. In Árpád Tímár, ed., *"Az utak elváltak": A magyar képzőművészet új utakat kereső törekvéseinkek sajtóvisszhangja. Szöveggyűjtemény 1909–1910* (Pécs: Janus Pannonius Múzeum, MTA Művészettörténeti Kutatóintézet, 2010). Hereafter: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[61] See Chapter 3, for *Nemzeti Szalon*'s perspective of the narrative.

[62] *OMKT 1905–6 Téli Kiállítás*, Catalogue, 1905.

[63] Maksziányi Dezső, "A téli tárlat," *Magyar Hírlap,* 1905, November 14, 1. In Árpád Tímár, ed., *"Az utak elváltak": A magyar képzőművészet új utakat kereső törekvéseinkek sajtóvisszhangja. Szöveggyűjtemény 1901–1908*. (Pécs: Janus Pannonius Múzeum, MTA Művészettörténeti Kutatóintézet, 2009). Hereafter referred to as: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Ödön Rottenbiller, "Téli kiállítás a Műcsarnokban," *Független Magyarország*, 1905, November 14, 1–2. In Tímár, *Utak I*.

[66] Marco [Márkus László], "A Téli tárlat," *A Hét,* vol. XVI, no. 47, 1905, 774–5.

[67] This is the recurring appellation that Kézdi-Kovács gave to Ferenczy and the modernists who gathered around him.

[68] "Új zsűri a Műcsarnokban [New Jury in the Műcsarnok]," *A Nap*, June 1, 1906, 5. In Tímár, *Utak I*.

[69] ml [László Márkus]. "A téli tárlat," *Alkotmány*, Nov. 13, 1906, 9–10. In Tímár.

[70] *OMKT 1907–8 Téli Kiállítás*, Catalogue, 1907.

[71] "Művészi mozgalmak," *Egyetértés*, May 4, 1907, 15. In Tímár, *Utak I*.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Poll had earlier made his transition to the *OMKT* from the *Nemzeti Szalon*, as attested to by the fact that he already was a regular on the jury by this time.

[74] *Egyetértés*, May 5, 1907, 13–14. The author [probably Artúr Bardos] writes on the eve of the big vote at the *Nemzeti Szalon*: "We won at the *Műcsarnok*, and tomorrow we'll win here [*Nemzeti Szalon*] too." In Tímár, *Utak I*.

[75] Bgy. [György Bölöni], "A Nemzeti Szalon." *Magyarország,* Dec. 8, 1905, 12. In Tímár, *Utak I*.

[76] László Kézdi-Kovács, "A Műcsarnok nemzetközi kiállítás," *Pesti Hirlap,* 1906, Nov. 13, 9. In Tímár, *Utak I*.

[77] L.A. [Alfréd Lakos], Művészeti krónika, *Budapesti Napló,* Nov. 28, 1907, 7–8. In Tímár, *Utak I*.

[78] "A kormány és az ultramodern fiatalok," *Pesti Hirlap,* 1908, Feb. 14, 9. In Tímár, *Utak I*.

[79] "Művészeink sérelme," *Pesti Hirlap,* Feb 28, 1908, 17. In Tímár, *Utak I*.

[80] "A külföldi kritika a Magyar művészekről," *Pesti Hirlap,* May 21, 1909, 4. In Tímár, *Utak II*.

[81] L.A. [Alfréd Lakos], "Pénzpocsékolás a művészet ürügye alatt," *Magyar Szó,* May 30, 1909, I–II. In Tímár, *Utak II*.

[82] "A Műcsarnok kibővítése," *Pesti Hirlap,* Apr. 7, 8, 1909. In Tímár, *Utak II*.

[83] None of the catalogues of 1909, not the *OMKT 1909–10 Téli Kiállítás,* nor the *OMKT 1909 Tavaszi Kiállítás*, contain any side halls, which would have shown on the fold-out maps.

[84] "A MIÉNK beolvadása," *Magyar Nemzet,* Apr. 10, 1909, 6. In Tímár, *Utak II*.

[85] 319 lots appear in the catalogue *OMKT 1908 Tavaszi Kiállítás.*

[86] "Visszautasítottak szalonja," *Pesti Napló,* March 31, 1908, 15. In Tímár, *Utak II*.

[87] L.G. [Géza Lengyel] "Tavaszi tárlat," *A Polgár,* March 31, 1908, 1. In Tímár, *Utak II.*

[88] "Salon des refuses," *Pesti Napló,* April 1, 1908, 14. In Tímár, *Utak II*.

[89] Lajos Fülep, "A Tavaszi Kiállítás," *Az Ország,* Apr. 1, 1906, 11. In Tímár *Utak I*.

[90] Dezső Malonyay, "Tavaszi kiállítás," *Budapesti Hirlap,* Apr. 27, 1907, 2–3. In Tímár *Utak I*.

[91] Miklós Rózsa, "A Tavaszi Kiállítás," *Budapesti Napló,* Apr. 27, 1907, 2–3. In Tímár *Utak II.*

[92] Géza Lengyel, "Nemzeti Szalon," *Nyugat,* June 15, 1909, vol. II, no. 12, 658–60. In Tímár, *Utak I*.

[93] The only alternative at that particular moment lay in the *Könyves Kálmán*.

[94] Sándor Nádas, "Kézdi-Kovács és a Modernek," *Pesti Futár*, Jan. 29, 1910, vol. III, no. 94, 9–10. In Tímár, *Utak II.*

[95] "A magyar művészek a 'Művészet' ellen," *Pesti Hírlap*, Oct. 31, 1909, 9. In Tímár, *Utak II*.

[96] Ibid.

[97] "Téli tárlat," *Egyetértés,* 1909, November 13, 1–3. In Tímár, *Utak II*.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Géza Lengyel, "Az Álművészet Krónikája," *Huszadik Század,* 1909, vol. X, no. 12, 493. In Tímár, *Utak II*.

[100] "A MIÉNK tagjai a Műcsarnok tavaszi tárlatán," March 4, *Pesti Napló,* 1910, 11. In Tímár, *Utak II*.

[101] Géza Feleky, "A MIÉNK megtérése," *Magyar Szemle,* March 24, 1910, vol. I, no. 3, 44. In Tímár, *Utak II*.

[102] See: *OMKT 1915–16 Téli Kiállítás, 1916–17 Téli Kiállítás, 1917–18 Téli Kiállítás, 1915 Tavaszi Kiállítás, 1916 Tavaszi Kiállítás, 1917 Tavaszi Kiállítás.* The format continued all the way through the revolution and counter-revolutions of 1918–19, until in 1920 the two juries were joined by a third group, the New Artists Group, which also was allowed to fill designated halls.

Chapter 3

[1] See Mór Than's complaint in Chapter 2. See *OMKT* Lt. 1877–1085. In Pipacs, "Emlékek," 137.

[2] Based on comparisons of *Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Műcsarnokában Kiállított művek jegyzéke,* Catalogue, 1876, and *Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat Műcsarnokában kiállított művek sorozata,* Catalogue, 1877.

[3] In tabulating that number, all painters working in Budapest, as well as Hungarians working abroad were counted.

[4] Computed from the *Képzőművészeti Csoport Képes Tárgymutatója*, catalogue for the *OMKT* International of 1885, according to residences listed. Those working abroad included most of the leading figures of Hungarian art at that time: Mihály Munkácsy—Paris, Mihály Zichy—St. Petersburg, Mór Than—Florence, Károly and András Markó—Florence. Simon Hollósy, working in Munich, had sent in his early success, *Corn-Husking*.

[5] Béla Gonda Ifj. , "A magyar képpiac," *Művészet,* 1915, vol. XIV, no. 3,155–64. Since not all those who exhibited in 1885 could live by selling their work, the exhibition probably reflected a concurrent number.

[6] Károly Lyka, *Festészeti életünk a millenniumtól az első világháborúig* (Budapest: Corvina, 1953), 22.

[7] Keeping in mind that these artists would not all be painters, but they were also only the ones Lyka knew of, and so whichever ones might have died prior to 1915 would easily be compensated for by painters unknown to Lyka.

[8] Eszter Gábor, "The Epreskert (Mullberry Garden) Artist Colony," in *Public Spaces of Modern Architecture in Budapest: 2/Artists' Studios and Exhibition Spaces* (Budapest: Ernst Múzeum, 2008), 35. Lotz was the undisputed master in this field having painted frescoes in buildings throughout the length of the Sugár út.

[9] Hollósy's school, in some ways, functioned as a preparatory course towards admission to the Academy, but increasingly it transformed into an end in itself.

[10] See table above.

[11] See table 3.2. Using a five-year average provides a more even measurement of spending, as the amounts could fluctuate 15–20 percent from one year to the next.

[12] Éva Bicskei, "Nők az Országos Magyar Mintarajztanoda és Rajztanárképezdén 1870 és 1908. között," *A Mintarajztanodától a Képzőművészeti Főiskoláig* (Budapest: Magyar Képzőművészeti Egyetem, 2002), 227–9.

[13] Szablya-Frischauf's school would eventually emerge as a movement in its own right, the *KÉVE*. See Chapter 4.

[14] Erika Szívós, *A magyar képzőművészet társadalomtörténete 1867–1918* (Budapest: Új Mandátum Könyvkiadó, 2009), 98.

[15] See: Ilona Sármány-Parsons, *Ferenczy Károly* (Budapest: Kossuth Könyvkiadó, 2009).

[16] Jenő Gellért, "Bölcsődal a Nemzeti Szalonról," in Béla Déry, László Bányász, Ernő Margitay, ed., *Almanach (Képzőművészeti Lexikon)* (Budapest: Légrády Testvérek, 1912), 55–56. Pállik's loyalty to the *OMKT* would be rewarded with his reputation to posterity as a sterling example of a *Műcsarnok* painter (his specialty was sheep), with all of that appellation's dismissive associations.

[17] Ibid., 56.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid., 57.

[20] "Young Hungarian painters and sculptors confer in the banquet hall of Hotel Metropol on Kerepesi út, at 7 pm. Friday," in *Fővárosi Lapok* January 12, 1894. 102. Citation from "The Foundation of the Nemzeti Szalon," by Tímár in *Public Spaces*, 194.

[21] Gellért, "Bölcsődal…", 58.

[22] "Nemzeti Szalon," *Fővárosi Lapok*, 7 February, 1894, 321. In: Tímár, "The Foundations…," 194.

[23] László Kézdi-Kovács, "A 'Nemzeti Szalon'. Áttekintés jelenlegi művészeti viszonyainkról," in *Pesti Hírlap*, March 12, 1894, 2. Kézdi-Kovács, in this way, began his long career working for the institution that he would wrest control of 13 years later. In: Tímár, "The Foundations…," 194.

[24] "Nemzeti Szalon," *Fővárosi Lapok*, 7 February, 1894. In: Tímár, "The Foundations…," 321.

[25] Béla Lázár, "A Nemzeti Szalon Története," *Művészet*, 1904, vol. III, no. 2, 80–5.

[26] Ödön Kacziány, "Az első vidéki kiállítás," in Déry et al., *Almanach*, 63.

[27] Ibid., 63. Kacziány describes Mesterházy with biting wit. Mesterházy exemplifies those personalities without which new institutions would never come into being. He combined great artistic mediocrity with passionate and inebriated tenacity. His favorite term of abuse against all enemies and rivals was: *kófic*, meaning "amateurs."

[28] Lázár, "A Nemzeti Szalon…," 82.

[29] See Appendix I for more comparative calculations between years and institutions.

[30] Lázár, "A Nemzeti Szalon…," 82–3.

[31] See for a discussion of prizes and awards given in the nineteenth century: Katalin Sinkó, *Aranyérmek, ezüstkoszorúk. Művészkultusz* és *műpártolás Magyarországon a 19. században* (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1995).

[32] *A Nemzeti Szalon állandó műkiállításának tárgymutatója*, Catalogue, October, 1894.

[33] István Réti, *A nagybányai művésztelep* (Budapest: Vincze Kiadó, (1994) 2001), 88–9.

[34] István Nemeskürty, "Az egyműves kiállítás Arad vértanúi Thorma János festményén," *Magyar Nemzet,* October, 1992, vol. 55, no. 236, 11. Lyka writes that: "no picture had attracted so many people in Budapest." Lyka, *Festészeti* életünk…,16.

[35] Réti, *A nagybányai művésztelep*, 89.

[36] *Ezredéves Országos Kiállítás 1896, A képzőművészeti csoport képes tárgymutatója*, Catalogue for the 1896 Millennial Exhibition. The show featured 15 halls. After 1896, the last 3 halls that ring the apse would become storage rooms. From 1897 on, routinely only 12 halls displayed artworks.

[37] "A tavaszi kiállítás eredményei," *Műcsarnok,* 1900, 316–7. 228,320 korona is the sum of declared sales prices, with a significant number of paintings which do not report their sale price.

[38] The fact was derived from *Pesti Hírlap's* article on the *Visszautasítottak Szalonja*, which was quoted at length along with other newspapers' reviews in Donatello [István Dömötör], "A Visszautasítottak Szalonja," *Műcsarnok*, 1900, vol. III, 273–4. The article includes selections from the listed newspapers.

[39] Among the improvements of Hock's presidency was that certain favored paintings began to receive disproportionate attention. Ferenc Szikszay showed, for example, 15 works, and Celestin Pállya had 24 displayed in the *Nemzeti Szalon* 1900 Winter exhibition.

[40] *Landscape,* lot no. 175. It was priced at 60 forints. *A Nemzeti Szalon téli kiállításának katalógusa*, Catalogue, 1900. It is the only known juried exhibition where Csontváry showed. The catalogue contained no reproductions, and so the work cannot be identified.

[41] See Table 4.1.

[42] Furthermore, many artists, showed work at both salons. Frequently works refused by the *Műcsarnok* would be then submitted to the *Nemzeti Szalon*.

[43] *VS Katalógus*, Catalogue of the *Visszautasítottak Szalonja*, 1900.

[44] Donatello, "Visszautasítottak Szalonja," 273–4, includes selections from the listed newspapers.

[45] Donatello, "Visszautasítottak Szalonja," 272.

[46] "A nagybányai iskola és a Műcsarnok," *Pesti Napló*, October 15, 1897, vol. 48, no. 287, 9. In: Árpád Tímár, ed., *A nagybányai művészet* és *művésztelep a magyar sajtóban 1896–1909* (Budapest: MissionArt Galéria, 1997), 40.

[47] Réti, *A nagybányai művésztelep…*, 18.

[48] Réti, *A nagybányai művésztelep…*, 18–9.

[49] János Hock, "Nagybánya—Előre," *Magyarország,* November 20, 1897, vol. IV, no. 32, 1–3. In: Tímár, *A nagybányai művészet…,* 47–51.

[50] Réti, *A nagybányai művésztelep…*,19.

[51] "Magyar Képzőművészet—A Képzőművészeti Társulat közgyűlése," *Budapesti Napló*, March 28, 1898, vol. III, no. 87, 5. In: Tímár, *A nagybányai művészet…*,131–2.

[52] Letter from Simon Hollósy to János Hock [Károly Lyka copy], Munich, Dec 7, 1898, MTA MKI, Itsz.: MDK-C-I-17/645. In: Edit András and Mária Bernáth, eds., *Válogatás a nagybányai művészek leveleiből, 1893–1944* (Miskolc: MissionArt Galéria, 1997)

[53] Sándor Bródy, "Új Szalon," *Magyar Hírlap*, 1899, Dec. 6, vol. IX, no. 337, 1–2. Bródy praises Hock's will and describes him as a "fiery, resilient, pompous man."

[54] Gábor Térey, "dr. Térey Gábor és a 'Nemzeti Szalon'," *Műcsarnok,*1900, 49. Note that the name "Nemzeti Szalon" is also shown in quotation marks.

[55] "Nemzeti Szalon," *Műcsarnok,* Jan, 1901, 82. The resignation, however, would have as much to do with an article published by Gabriel Mourey as it would with Hock's actual leadership style.

[56] *Magyarország*, May 20, 1900, 11.

[57] "Szikszay Ferenc," in *Magyar festők* és *grafikusok életrajzi lexikona, vol. II,* (Nyíregyháza: NBA Kiadó, 2002), 492.

[58] *Szikszay Ferenc Gyűjteményes Kiállítása—Exposition Collective des Tableaux et Dessins de Feri de Szikszay*, Catalogue, 1905. The work is *Rákosi Major*, 1889.

[59] Hock,"Nagybánya–Előre," 1–3.

[60] *Szikszay …,* Catalogue, 1905.

[61] Miklós Rózsa, "Művészet és iparművészet," *Hazánk,* Dec. 6, 1899, vol. VI, no. 292. In: Tímár, *A nagybányai művészet…,* 229.

[62] *Szikszay*, Catalogue, 1905. This work also belonged to Hock.

[63] "Beszélgetés G. Moureyvel," *Budapest Napló*, Feb 5 ,1901.

[64] Introduction [probably László Kézdi-Kovács] to: Gabriel Mourey, "Magyar művészet a párizsi kiállításon," *Pesti Hírlap,* 1900, June 16, 6–7.

[65] Gellért, "Bölcsődal a Nemzeti Szalonról," 56.

[66] "László Kézdi-Kovács," in *Magyar festők és grafikusok életrajzi lexikona, vol. I* (Nyíregyháza: NBA Kiadó, 2002), 584. He received the prize for the work *Forest Scene*.

[67] Gabriel Mourey, "Magyar művészet a párizsi kiállításon," *Pesti Hírlap*, June 16, 1900, 6.

[68] Mourey, "Magyar művészet…," 6.

[69] Ibid., 7.

[70] Ibid., 6.

[71] G.M. [Gabriel Mourey], "Studio Talk: Paris," *The Studio*, Sept. 1900, vol. XX, 273.

[72] Mourey, "Studio Talk: Paris," 273.

[73] *The Studio,* March, 1900, vol. XIX, no. 84, 93.

[74] Ignácz Ujváry, "Nemzeti Szalon 'világtárlat,'" *Műcsarnok,* Feb. 1901, vol. III. no. 7, 122.

[75] Ujváry, "Nemzeti Szalon 'világtárlat,'" 121.

[76] *Kalauz* és *képes tárgymutató a Nemzeti Szalon nemzetközi kiállítására,* Catalogue, 1901. The Hungarian artists included were: Munkácsy, Mészöly, Kacziány, Robovics, Székely, Kardos, Katona, Szikszay, Rita Boemm, Migl, Pörge, Honti, and Déry.

[77] This status would have conferred exhibiting privileges, both regarding limits to the number of works and being non-juried. These permanent members were: Székely, Szinyei-Merse, Rubovics, Katona, Baron László Mednyánszky (1852–1919), and Szikszay. *Kalauz* és *képes tárgymutató a Nemzeti Szalon nemzetközi kiállítására,* Catalogue, 1901.

[78] *A Nemzeti Szalon téli kiállításának katalógusa*, Catalogue, 1900.

[79] Ujváry, "Nemzeti Szalon 'világtárlat.'"

[80] "Nemzeti Szalon 'világtárlat' [2nd installment of this article]," *Műcsarnok*, Feb. 17, 1901, 129.

[81] For a full explanation of *juste milieu,* see Jensen, *Marketing Modernism…*, 139–42.

[82] As an indicator of an artist's current day importance, the Hungarian state-supported website www.hung-art.hu is one of the most readily referenced sources on Hungarian art. The site is in both Hungarian and English and has a biographical index of 381 artists. Szikszay does not appear among them. In fact, neither do those artists whom Hock heavily favored with inclusion in his 1901 International Exhibition: Ödön Kacziány, Márk Robovics, and Nándor Katona. Bertalan Székely is the only one of Hock's favorites who has maintained canonical standing, and that because he had established his reputation long before Hock's arrival.

[83] Letter from István Csók to János Thorma, dated: Budapest, March 29, 1901. In the letter, Csók relates Ernst's instructions, which originated with Andrássy, that 15 good painters should be brought into the Nemzeti Szalon. In: Edit András and Mária Bernáth, eds., *Dokumentumok a nagybányai művésztelep történetéből: Válogatás a nagybányai művészek leveleiből 1893–1944* (Miskolc: MissionArt Galéria, 1997), 119.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Letter from Béla Iványi-Grünwald to Lajos Ernst dated Budapest, 1901, showing that Ernst has been requesting Iványi-Grünwald to return to the Szalon. In: András, *Dokumentumok a nagybányai…*, 107.

[86] Péter Zoltán, *Ég és föld között (Regény Zichy Mihály életéről)* (Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1976), 347–65.

[87] *Nemzeti Szalon: Zichy Mihály művei*, Catalogue, 1902.

[88] *Nemzeti Szalon: Páal László művei*, Catalogue, 1902.

[89] "Fővárosi kaszinók a 19. században," *Budapesti Negyed* (2004/4), no. 46.

[90] László Kézdi-Kovács, "A Nemzeti Szalon új otthonában," *Pesti Hírlap,* 1907, March 9, 8.

[91] Sampling of catalogues from 1900–02.

[92] László Kézdi-Kovács, "Botrányos művész-közgyűlés: A 'hóbortos' és a 'komoly művészek' harca." *Pesti Hírlap,* May 7, 1907, 6–7. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[93] Gábor Bognár, "The History of the National Salon," In: *Public Spaces*, 203.

[94] Ibid., 203–4.

[95] László Kézdi-Kovács, "A Nemzeti Szalon új otthonában," *Pesti Hírlap,* March 9,1907. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[96] Kézdi-Kovács, "Botrányos művész-közgyűlés," 6–7. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[97] Ibid.

[98] *Nemzeti Szalon Kiállítás: Gauguin, Cézanne, stb. művei*, Catalogue, 1907.

[99] The *OMKT* 1903–04 Winter International would have brought over some of the works from the Secession's Impressionist show earlier in the year, but the works were in no way high-lighted or contextualized.

[100] József Yartin, "A MIÉNK kiállitása," *Az Újság,* January 11, 1908. In: Judit Parádi, "Szintézis és megújulás a MIÉNK keretében," in Krisztina Passuth and György Szűcs, eds., *Magyar Vadak Párizsól Nagybányáig 1904–1914* (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2006). Tahitót-falu is a small village to the north of Budapest on the banks of the Danube.

[101] *Nemzeti Szalon, Modern francia nagymesterek tárlata,* Catalogue, 1907.

[102] Ernest Meissonier's *Under the Balcony* was priced at 40,000 forints [80,000 korona] at the *OMKT*'s 1877 exhibition that opened the first *Műcsarnok.* That had been the previous high price for the Budapest market.

[103] Ibid. From the Introduction by Lajos Ernst.

[104] The terms arose during the contentious General Assembly of 1907. See: Artúr Bárdos, "A Nemzeti Szalon dolgaiból," *Egyetértés*, May 5, 1907, 13–4. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[105] Miklós Rózsa, "A magyar szecesszió," *Budapesti Napló*, May 16, 1905, 9. In: Árpád Tímár, "A MIÉNK művészegyesület története a korabeli sajtó tükrében," In: *Művészettörténeti* Értesítő, 2009, no. 1, 52.

[106] No catalogue exists to the show, but *Művészeti Krónika,* March 15, 1911, shows a listing of the participants and their works.

[107] "Modern magyar festők kiállítása [Exhibition of Modern Hungarian Artists]," *Pesti Hírlap*, March 12, 1904, 9. In: Tímár, "A MIÉNK művészegyesület…," 51.

[108] See *A Nemzeti Szalon 1904.* évi őszi *kiállitásának katalógusa*, Catalogue, 1904, and *A Nemzeti Szalon 1905.* évi *tavaszi* és *III-dik grafikai kiállitásának katalógusa*, Catalogue, 1905.

[109] László Kézdi-Kovács, "A Nemzeti Szalon új otthonában," *Pesti Hírlap,* 1907, March 9. In: Tímár, "A Miénk művészegyesület…," 51.

[110] *Modern Magyar Művészek—1907 március, Első Csoport Kiállítás, Nemzeti Szalon,* Catalogue, 1907. Introduction by Lajos Ernst.

[111] See Appendix I for more samplings of average exhibition prices.

[112] *Művészeti kérdések. Magyar művészek a Nemzeti Szalonban*. Catalogue for the opening of the new Nemzeti Szalon in March 1907.

[113] *A Nemzeti Szalon őszi kiállitásának katalógusa 1907,* Catalogue, 1907. Calculations do not include graphics or works on paper.

[114] Kézdi-Kovács, "A Nemzeti Szalon új otthonában." In: Tímár, "A MIÉNK művészegyesület…," 51.

[115] Kézdi-Kovács,"Botrányos művész-közgyűlés." In: Tímár, "A MIÉNK művészegyesület…," 62.

[116] "A Nemzeti Szalon közgyűlése," *Magyar Nemzet*, May 7, 1907.

[117] Kézdi-Kovács, "Botrányos művész-közgyűlés." In: Tímár, "A MIÉNK művészegyesület…," 62. By contrast, the *OMKT*'s yearly sales for 1906 were 278,000 korona.

[118] "Harc a Nemzeti Szalonban," *Egyetértés*, 1907, May 7. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[119] Kézdi-Kovács,"Botrányos művész-közgyűlés." In: Tímár, "A MIÉNK művészegyesület…," 63.

[120] Ibid.

[121] László Kézdi-Kovács, "A *M.I.É.N.K.* csoportkiállítása a Nemzeti Szalonban," *Pesti Hírlap,* January 11, 1908, 6–7. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[122] József Rippl-Rónai's letter to Lajos Kunffy, in Zoltán Farkas, ed., *Rippl-Rónai emlékezései és Beck Ö. Fülöp emlékezései* (Magyar Századok), (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1957), 146.

[123] Ltsz. 8198 (1955). A copy of the letter was published in Anna Szinyei Merse, *A Majális festője közelről* (Budapest: 1989), 220–1. In: Tímár, "A Miénk Művészegyesület…," 70.

[124] "Magyar Szecesszió," *Pesti Hírlap,* 1907, Oct. 26, 9. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[125] In this sense we might even say that it harkens back to Klimt's original intention for his group *within* the framework Künstlerhaus, see Chapter 1.

[126] József Prém,"A 'M.I.É.N.K.' első kiállítása (A Nemzeti Szalonban)," *Budapest,* Jan. 11, 1908, 11. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[127] L.A. [Alfréd Lakos], "Művészeti krónika," *Budapesti Napló,* Nov. 28, 1907, 7–8. In: Tímár, *Utak I*. The author noted that in the first ten days of the show only one painting was sold. In fact, overall, 1907 was the worst year that the *OMKT* would suffer that decade. Total purchasing dropped almost 50% from 278,347 korona to 146,995 korona. See Chapter 2.

[128] Kézdi-Kovács, "A 'Miénk' csoportkiállítás," 74.

[129] Kuma-Rom [Endre Komáromi-Kacz], "A *M.I.É.N.K.*," *Magyar Közélet*, Feb. 1, 1908, vol. VII, no. 3, 9–13. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[130] "A modell és a Nemzeti Szalon," *Magyar Figaro*, Feb. 2, 1908, 4. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[131] "A "Miénk" kiállítása," *Egyetértés*, Jan. 20, 1909, 14. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[132] *A M.I.É.N.K. második kiállítása,* Feb–March, 1909, Catalogue.

[133] Ferenc Kopár, "MIÉNK",*Budapest,* Feb. 14, 1909, 11. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[134] Kézdi [László -Kovács], "A MIÉNK új kiállítása," *Pesti Hírlap,* Feb. 14, 1909, 9–10. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[135] "A Miénk kiállítása," *Egyetértés*, Feb. 27, 1909, 14. In: Tímár, *Utak II*..

[136] "A *M.I.É.N.K.* kiállítása,"*Vasárnapi Ujság,* Feb. 28, 1909, vol. 56. no. 9, 171–3.

[137] Tövis [Miklós Rózsa], "A tavaszi kiállítás," *A Hét,* Apr. 11, 1909, vol. XX, no. 15, 255–56. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[138] *Nemzeti Szalon Őszi Kiállítás*, Catalogue, 1907.

[139] "A Nemzeti Szalon Máramarosszigeten," *Egyetértés*, Feb. 18, 1908, In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[140] "Nyilatkozat," *Egyetértés,* Feb. 20, 1908, 10. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[141] "Iparosok és Művészek," *Független Magyarország,* 1909, May 18, 2–3. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[142] "Feketék a Nemzeti Szalonban," *Népszava*, May 19, 1909, 5–6. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[143] Ibid.

[144] "A Nemzeti Szalon ügye," *Az Ujság*, May 19, 1909, 11. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[145] "A Nemzeti Szalon válsága," *A Polgár*, May 21, 1909, 6. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[146] "Hajsza a Nemzeti Szalon ellen," *Pesti Hírlap,* May 20, 1909, 7. In: Tímár, *Utak II*. Kézdi-Kovács repeatedly emphasized the democratic means by which he held his power.

[147] "Művészbéke," *Független Magyarország*, May 27, 1909, 10. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[148] "Az igazi művészek," *Pesti Napló,* May 20, 12. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[149] Miklós Rózsa, "A Modern Művészet Háza," *Egyetértés,* May 30, 1909, 15. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[150] L.G. [Géza Lengyel], "A Nemzeti Szalon viszálya," *Huszadik Század*, June, 1909, vol. X, no. 6, 566–9.

[151] Lengyel Géza, "Nemzeti Szalon," *Nyugat,* June 15, 1909, vol. II, no. 12, 658–60.

[152] Ibid.

[153] Ernő Margitay, "A Nemzeti Szalon kiállítása," Élet, June 6, 1909, vol. I, no. 23, 751–2.

[154] "Egy modern tárlat," *Kolozsvári Hírlap,* May 27, 1909, 4. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[155] "Művészet," *Előre* [Kolozsvár], May 28, 1909, 2. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[156] "Az Új Magyar Festők: Megnyílt a kiállítás," *Kolozsvári Hírlap,* May 30, 1909, 7. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[157]"Új magyar festők kiállítása vidéken," *Az Ujság*, May 28, 1909, 12. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[158] L.A. [Alfréd Lakos], "A MIÉNK csődje - kontár szimulánsok," *Magyar Szó,* 1910, Jan. 11. II–III. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[159] Menyhért Lengyel, "Magyar festők Berlinben," *Az Ujság,* Feb. 9, 1910, 10–11. In: Tímár, *Utak II*. *Pan* had first been founded by Maier-Graefe in 1895.

[160] Paret, *The Berlin Secession…*,209.

[161] Jenő Szatmári, "Magyar festők Berlinben," *Budapest*, Feb. 6, 1910, 11. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[162] László Mravik, "*Sacco di Budapest." Depredation of Hungary, 1938–1949* (Budapest: The Hungarian National Gallery, 1998), 235–245. This catalogue of wartime losses gives provenances for all known works in the Hatvany collection.

[163] Ibid.

[164] Mimi Kratochwill, "'Festői fantáziáját elsősorban az asszonyi test izgatja…' Ismeretlen életművek: Hatvany Ferenc," *Art Magazin*, Nov., 2008, 39. Hatvany sold it on to Samuel Courtauld in 1925, and it remains one of the signature works today in that collection.

[165] Ibid.

[166] Jenő Szatmári, "Magyar festők Berlinben," *Budapest*, Feb. 1910, 6–11. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[167] Dezső Czigány, "Magyarok sikere Berlinben," *Pesti Napló,* Feb 12, 1910, 10–11. In: Tímár, *Utak II*. It should be noted that the author was one of the painters participating in the exhibition.

[168] Géza Lengyel, "A berlini kiállítás mérlege," *Nyugat,* Apr. 1, 1910, vol. III, no. 7, 440–4.

[169] dé. [Imre Déri], "A Szalon tavaszi tárlatán," *Egyetértés,* March 19, 1910, 12. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[170] "A Nemzeti Szalon ügye," *Az Ujság,* May 19, 1909, 11. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[171] L.A. [Alfréd Lakos], "A 'Kéve' kiállítása," *Magyar Szó,* Nov. 7, 1909, II. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[172] Imre Déri, "A 'Kéve' tárlata," *Egyetértés,* Nov. 7–17, 1909, 10–4. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[173] *"Nyolcak" kiállítása a Nemzeti Szalonban*, Catalogue, 1911.

[174] *A Nyolcak harmadik tárlatának katalógusa,* Catalogue, Nov–Dec. 1912.

[175] Meidner exhibited works titled *Cosmic Landscape I–II,* which may have been part of his prophetic *Apocalyptic Landscape* series that he did at this time.

Chapter 4

[1] Károly Lyka, *Közönség* és *művészet a századvégen* (Budapest: Corvina, (1947) 1982), 42.

[2] Erika Szurcsikné Molnár, "Könyves Kálmán műintézet tevékenységének története," *Ars Hungarica* 1985/2, 178, footnote 29.

[3] Lyka, *Közönség* és *művészet,* 42–3. According to Lyka, these genres accounted for the bulk of graphic arts in these galleries.

[4] Dorottya Lipták, "A családi lapoktól a társasági lapokig: Újságok és újságolvasók a századvégen," *Budapesti Negyed* (1997/2–3), vol. 16–17.

[5] *Almanach (Képzőművészeti Lexikon)* ed. Béla Déry, László Bányász, Ernő Margitay. (Budapest: Légrády Testvérek, 1912). In the advertisement section of the almanac at the end.

[6] *Tárgymutató az Orsz. Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1899–1900* évi *Téli Kiállítására,* Catalogue, 1899.

[7] *Orsz. M. Képzőművészeti Társulat Téli Kiállítás 1901/02,* Catalogue, 1901.

[8] *Orsz. M. Képzőművészeti Társulat Téli Kiállítás 1906/07,* Catalogue, 1906.

[9] *Tárgymutató az Orsz. Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1899–1900* évi *Téli Kiállítására,* catalogue, 1899.

[10] *Orsz. M. Képzőművészeti Társulat Téli Kiállítás 1907/08*, catalogue, 1907.

[11] Gellért, "Bölcsődal a Nemzeti …," 55–6.

[12] *Műcsarnok*, Feb. 4, 1900.

[13] *Műcsarnok*, May 20, 1900.

[14] K. K., "Állandó művásár," *Műcsarnok*, Nov. 27, 1898, 158.

[15] Miklós Rózsa, "A német műpiac," *Műcsarnok*, May 20, 1899, 254.

[16] Károly Lyka, "Részletfizetéses művásár," *Műcsarnok*, Dec. 28, 1899, 462–3.

[17] "Hazai krónika" in: *Művészet*, 1905. vol. III, no. 6, 409.

[18] "Új műkereskedés," *Vasárnapi Ujság,* vol 53. no. 7, 102–5.

[19] Gazda, *Könyvkereskedők a régi Váci utcában…*, 24, 38. The Eggenberger had originally been located in the *Beleznay Ház* [see Chapter 1].

[20] "Az Uránia-műkereskedés," *Független Magyarország,* Febr. 8, 1906, 12. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[21] "'Uránia'—társaság és műkereskedés," *Független Magyarország,* Dec. 31, 1905, 19. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[22] "Az Uránia-műkereskedés megnyitása," *Pesti Napló,* Feb. 4, 1906, 17. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[23] "Új műkereskedés," *Vasárnapi Ujság,* vol. 53, no. 7, 102–5.

[24] "Márffy – Gulácsy kiállítás," *Magyarország,* March 31, 1907, 14. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[25] *Tárgymutató az Orsz. Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat 1899–1900 évi Téli Kiállitására,* Catalogue, 1899.

[26] "Az Uránia-műkereskedés megnyitása," *Pesti Napló,* Feb. 4, 1906, 17. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[27] "Műkereskedés szalonjai," *Modern Művészet,* Dec. 1, 1905, no. III, 164–5.

[28] Ödön Rottenbiller, "Uránia-kiállítás," *Független Magyarország,* Feb. 11, 1906, 16. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[29] László Márkus, "Magyar festők a tárlaton," *Alkotmány,* November 17, 1906, 1. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[30] See for example: "A párizsi Őszi Szalon," *Budapesti Hírlap,* October 9, 1906, 11. Or Simon Kemény, "Megnyílt a Salon: Párizsi Levél," *A Nap,* October 25, 1906, 2. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[31] "Magyar művész sikere külföldön," *Pesti Napló*, December 21, 1906, 11. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[32] "Kiállítás a diákotthon javára," *Budapesti Hírlap*, Feb. 20, 1907, 12. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[33] "Kollektív kiállítások," *A Hét*, Feb. 10, 1907, no. 8, 159.

[34] "Fiatalok kiállítása," *Pesti Hirlap,* June 5, 1907, 7. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[35] "Mihalik Dániel festményeinek kiállítása," *Vasárnapi Ujság,* 1907, vol. 54, no.11, 210–1.

[36] Ödön Rottenbiller,"Márffy–Gulácsy kiállítás, *Független Magyarország,* March 27, 1907, 10. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[37] Ibid.; "*jutányosan*" is how he describes the prices.

[38] *Márffy Ödön és Gulácsy Lajos képeinek katalógusa,* Catalogue, 1907.

[39] Tímár's collection alone contains over 20 reviews.

[40] László Kézdi-Kovács, "Fiatalok," *Pesti Hirlap,* March 29, 1907, 5. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[41] "A főváros képzőművészeti díja," *Budapesti Hírlap*, April 14, 1907, 18. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[42] "Matiné a Márffy-kiállításon," *Nagyvárad,* April 16, 1909, 5. In: Tímár, *Utak II.*

[43] "Modern festők képkiállítása Fiumében," *Fiumei Estilap,* May 1, 1909, 2–3. In: Tímár, *Utak II.*

[44] "Márffy Ödön modern képkiállítása," *Fiumei Estilap,* May 12, 1909, 2. In: Tímár, *Utak II.*

[45] "Márffy Ödön képkiállítása," *Fiumei Estilap,* May 23, 1909, 1. In: Tímár, *Utak II.*

[46] "A Márffy-kiállítás," *A Tengerpart* [Fiume], May 25, 1909, 3. In: Tímár, *Utak II.*

[47] "Akt-kiállítás," *Magyar Hirlap,* Sept. 28, 1907, 9. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[48] "A magyar művészet tárlatán," *Tiszántúl* [Nagyvárad], April 4, 1908, 3–4. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[49] "A nagyváradi tárlat," *Nagyvárad,* April 2, 1908, 9. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[50] "Krónika," *Művészet,* 1907, vol. VI, no. 6, 418.

[51] "Tolnay Ákos kiállítása," *Vasárnapi Ujság,* 1907, vol. 54, no. 44, 879–82.

[52] "Műbarátoknál," *Uj Idők*, Feb. 26, 1905, 346.

[53] "Új művészeti egyesület," *Egyetértés,* Jan. 11, 1908, 10. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[54] Zsolt Somogyi, *A magyar szecesszió bútorművészete* (Budapest: Corvina; Iparművészeti Múzeum, 2009), 82.

[55] "Műhely," *Rajzoktatás*, Jan. 15, 1908, vol. XI, no. 32. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[56] Ibid.

[57] "A műhely kiállítása," *Magyar Szó,* Jan. 22, 1908, 3. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[58] "A 'Műhely' kiállítása," *Az Ujság,* Feb. 14, 1908, 11. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[59] "A 'Műhely' kiállítása," *Egyetértés,* Feb. 15, 1908, 14. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[60] Károly Sytrakoniczky, "A Műhely: A Műhely lakásművészeti kiállítása az Uránia műkereskedés helyiségeiben," *Alkotmány,* Mar. 4, 1908, 1–2. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[61] The *Munich Neue Pinakothek* later offered 4,000 Marks for the work, but Rippl-Rónai refused. He eventually sold it though to Marcell Nemes for 15,000 korona. See: Emil Pirchan, *Művészek műhelytitkai* (Budapest: Dante Könyvkadó, 1945), 45.

[62] "A 'Műhely' kiállítása," *Pesti Napló,* March. 4, 1908, 14–5. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[63] László Bányász, "A Műhely kiállítása," *Ország-Világ,* March 8, 1908, vol. XXIX, no. 10, 195. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[64] "A Műhely kiállítása," *Pesti Hírlap,* March 12, 1908, 9. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*. Pieces of solid-wood furniture were, for example, being sold for 180 forints a piece. "A Műhely kiállítása," *Magyar Iparművészet,* 1908, vol. XI, no. 4, 180–181. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[65] m.e. [Elek Magyar], "A 'Műhely' lakásművészeti kiállítása," *Magyarország,* March 4, 1908, 10. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[66] "A 'Műhely' kiállítása," *Magyar Hirlap,* Mar. 3, 1908, 11. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[67] "A 'Műhely' kiállítása," *Pesti Napló,* March 4, 1908, 14–5. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[68] Y.n. [Yartin/József Nyitray], "A 'Műhely' kiállítása," *Az* Újság, March 4, 1908, 10. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[69] "Tavaszi kiállítás az Urániában," *Egyetemi Lapok,* May 15, 1908, vol. XXI, no. 9, 13. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[70] László Kézdi-Kovács, "Egyházművészeti kiállítás," *Pesti Hírlap,* Sept. 8, 1908, 5. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[71] k.t.m. [Miklós Mihály Török], "A 'Műhely'," *Alkotmány*, Dec. 13, 1908, 10–1. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[72] "A 'Műhely' kiállítása," *Budapesti Hirlap*, Dec. 13, 1908, 16. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[73] "Az otthon művészete," *A Hét*, 1908, Dec. 20, vol. XIX, no. 51, 835. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[74] Sándor Nádas, "Uránia és Műhely," *Pesti Futár,* Dec. 25, 1908, vol. I, no. 36, 12–3. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[75] We hear of him being in attendance at a dinner honoring Benczúr and exhibiting four paintings (his usual amount) at the 1910 Spring *Műcsarnok*. After that, his trail disappears.

[76] "Krónika," *Művészet,* 1909, vol. VIII, no. 1, 49.

[77] "Krónika," *Művészet,* 1910, vol. IX, no. 1, 44.

[78] Károly Sztrakoniczky, "Veronai álmok," *Alkotmány,* Oct. 5, 1909, 10–1. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[79] "Gulácsy–Fáy kiállítás," *Egyetértés,* Oct. 20, 1909, 13. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[80] "Gulácsy és Fáy kiállítás," *Magyarország,* Oct. 19, 1909, 16. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[81] "Alfréd Hoffmann," *Vasárnapi Ujság,* 1897, vol. 44, no. 9, 6. The *Vasárnapi Ujság,* a widely-read weekly containing large numbers of photographs, always gave favorable coverage to the *Eggenberger*. The *Eggenberger*, in turn, sold plaster busts of Albert Pákh, the journal's founder.

[82] Tormay Cécile, *Bujdosókönyv. Feljegyzések 1918–1919-ből.* From April 11–2, 1918. See new republication edition: Budapest: Fapadoskönyv Kiadó, 2009.

[83] The book was: Bertalan Székely, *A figurális rajz* és *festés elvei* (Budapest: Eggenberger és Fia, 1877).

[84] "Feuilleton: Alfred Hoffmann, Nachruf." *Pester Lloyd*, Oct. 29, 1905, no. 269.

[85] "Alfréd Hoffmann," *Vasárnapi Ujság,* 1897, vol. 44, no. 9, 7.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Dorottya Lipták, "A családi lapoktól a társasági lapokig. Újságok és újságolvasók a századvégen," *Budapesti Negyed,* 1997 (2–3), 16–7.

[88] "Feuilleton: Alfred Hoffmann, Nachruf." *Pester Lloyd*, Oct. 29, 1905, No. 269.

[89] "Új művészi salon," *Alkotmány,* Nov. 18, 1904, 19. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[90] Based on prices listed for Spányi in the *OMKT* catalogues 1892-1900, prices ranged between 500 and 3,000 for proper paintings.

[91] "Krónika," *Művészet,* 1905, vol. IV, no. 3, and 1906, vol. VII, no. 8.

[92] "Új művészi salon," *Alkotmány*, Nov. 18, 1904, 19. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[93] "Két képkiállítás," *Nagyváradi Friss Ujság,* April 6, 1908, 2. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[94] See: *Eggenberger Aukciói,* Catalogue, 1923.

[95] István Genthon, *Rippl-Rónai József* (Budapest: Corvina, 1958/1977), 13.

[96] Genthon, *Rippl-Rónai,* 15.

[97] Rippl-Rónai had made portraits of the Andrássy family as well as designing a dinner room for them (1897–1901) that included a one-of-a-kind Zsolnay dinnerware service. See the collection of the *Iparművészeti Múzeum*, Budapest and the *Janus Pannonius Múzeum—Zsolnay Múzeum*, Pécs.

[98] *Rippl-Rónai,* Catalogue, 1900.

[99] Genthon, *Rippl-Rónai,* 15–6.

[100] Ibid., 16.

[101] *Rippl-Rónai*, Catalogue, 1902.

[102] Genthon, *Rippl-Rónai,* 17.

[103] Dezső Malonyay, "Nemzeti Szalon," *Budapesti Hírlap,* Feb. 28, 1904, 13.

[104] "A Nemzeti Szalon kiállítása," *Budapesti Napló*, Feb. 28, 1904, 8. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[105] László Kézdi-Kovács, "Neogrády Antal," *Pesti Hirla*p, Nov. 4, 1904, 10.

[106] Rippl-Rónai was already 39 when he held his first retrospective in 1900.

[107] "Hungarian Painters at the Exhibitions of the Salon d'Automne." In: Passuth, *Hungarian Fauves.*

[108] In the 1901 Biennial, 1 work.

[109] He writes, for example, in *Magyarország,* Nov. 6, 1903, 4, that the *Salon d'Automne* is veering too much towards the "*Indépendent*" direction, and they show too much of Gauguin and Cézanne. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[110] "Szikszay Ferencz festményeinek kiállítása," *Vasárnapi Ujság*, 1905. vol. 52, no. 9, 135.

[111] *Szikszay Ferenc gyűjteményes kiállítása—Exposition Collective des Tableaux et Dessins de Feri de Szikszay*, Catalogue, 1905.

[112] "Szikszay Ferencz festményeinek kiállítása," *Vasárnapi Ujság,* 1905. vol. 52, no. 9, 134–5.

[113] Edit Plesznivy, "Helyszínek és képi motívumok—Barátságok és megőrzött ízek—Rippl-Rónai József franciaországi éveiből," *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei,* 2002, vol. 15, no. 205–220, 2. Plesznivy does not report in which journal Szikszay published his review.

[114] This is a tabulation of surviving *OMKT* and *Nemzeti Szalon* catalogues. See: Appendix I.

[115] "Szenes Fülöp stúdiókiállítása," *Vasárnapi Ujság,* 1906. vol. 53. no. 12, 190.

[116] Ibid.

[117] See, for example: *OMKT Téli Kiállítás 1909–1910*, Catalogue, 1909

[118] "Képkiállítás a Riviera-kávéházban," *A Nap,* Jan. 28, 1908, 8. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[119] "Képkiállítás," *Magyar Szó,* 1908, Feb. 20, II–III. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[120] "Állandó magyar műkiállítás Párizsban," *Budapest,* July 10, 1909, 11. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[121] Béla Lázár, "Művészeti kiállítások," Magyar Nemzet, Sept. 10, 1905.

[122] *Csontváry képkiállítása*, Catalogue, 1908. Introduction by Csontváry.

[123] Lajos Németh, *Csontváry* (Budapest: Corvina, 1971), 182.

[124] K.k.l. [László Kézdi-Kovács], "Csontváry kiállítása," *Pesti Hirlap,* Nov. 4, 1908, 10.

[125] Ibid.

[126] Ibid., and also: József Nyitrai, "Csontváry kiállítása," *Az Újság,* Nov. 4, 1908.

[127] Árpád Feszty's description of the 1908 exhibition in: Lajos Németh, *Csontváry Emlékkönyv: Válogatás Csontváry Kosztka Tivadar írásaiból és a Csontváry-irodalomból* (Budapest: Corvina, 1976), 132.

[128] Pirchan, *Művészek műhelytitkai*, 75.

[129] Géza Feleky, "Csontváry képei," *Nyugat,* 1910, 863–4.

[130] Ferenc Herczeg's description of the 1910 exhibition in: Németh, *Csontváry Emlékkönyv…,* 132.

[131] His *Rendezvous* painting was sold for 230 million forints (1.3 million USD) at Kieselbach auction house's 2006 December sale, lot no. 46. It still stands as a record for a Hungarian artwork. See: www.kieselbach.hu

[132] "Kőszegi-Brandl Gusztáv kiállítása," *Vasárnapi Ujság*, vol. 54, no. 5, 134–5.

[133] *Gróf Nákó Kálmánné festményeinek kiállítása az Országos Iparművészeti Múzeumban*, Catalogue, 1906.

[134] "A jótékony képkiállítás," *Somogyvármegye*, Dec. 22, 1905, 4–5. In: Tímár, *Utak I*. The press reports do not mention what exactly the charity was.

[135] "A Hazai Művásárlók Egyesülete," *Alkotmány,* Dec. 28, 1905, 7. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[136] "Képzőművészet és jótékonyság," *Független Magyarország,* April 27, 1906, 12.

[137] *A budapesti mozi 100 éve* (Budapest: Ernst Muzeum, 2000), 184.

[138] Ibid., 85.

[139] János Gerle, Attila Kovács, Imre Makovecz, *A századforduló magyar építészete* (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó; Bonex, 1990), 228.

[140] "Erdei Viktor kiállítása," *Az Ujság,* March 3, 1907, 17. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[141] "Erdei Viktor kiállítása, "*Népszava,* March 13, 1907, 6. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[142] The 1907 Academy students catalogue featured 271 works, all with prices.

[143] *Szablya Frischauf Ferenc* és *tanítványai*, Catalogue, March 15–29, 1906.

[144] "Szablya-Frischauf Ferenc és iskolája," *Budapesti Hírlap,* March 15, 1906, 14. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[145] *Szablya-Frischauf Ferenc és tanítványai*, Catalogue, 1906.

[146] "Kéve," *Egyetértés,* Nov. 1, 1907, 5. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[147] k.f. [Ferenc Kopár], "A Kéve," *Budapest,* Feb. 1, 1908, 11. In: Tímár, *Utak I*..

[148] "Kéve," *Független Magyarország*, Feb 1, 1908, 12. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[149] k.k.l. [László Kézdi-Kovács], "A 'Kéve' kiállítása," Pesti *Hírlap*, Feb. 11, 1908, 1. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[150] F.I. [István Forbáth], "A 'Kéve' első kiállítása," *A Polgár,* Feb. 1, 1908, 8. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[151] "A 'Kéve' düsseldorfi kiállítása," *Az Ujság*, Aug. 1, 1908, 10. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[152] "A Kéve berlini kiállítása," *Magyar Szó*, Sept. 17, 1908, II. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[153] L.A. [Alfréd Lakos], "A 'Kéve' kiállítása," *Magyar Szó*, Nov. 7. 1909, II. In: Tímár, *Utak I*. Lakos bemoans this fact.

[154] *1909 november hó, A "Kéve" második kiállítása, "Nemzeti Szalon,"* Catalogue, 1909.

[155] Kézdi. [László Kézdi-Kovács], "A 'Kéve' kiállítása a Nemzeti Szalonban," *Pesti Hirlap,* Nov. 7, 1909, 9–10. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[156] Not the same institution as the one that exhibited at the *Uránia* earlier.

[157] "János Gundel," *Magyar festők és grafikusok életrajzi lexikona (*Nyíregyháza: NBA Kiadó, 2002), vol. I.

[158] "Göröncsér-Gundel János," *Művészet,* 1908, vol. VII, no. 4, 267.

[159] "Szikszay Ferenc," *Művészet,* 1908, vol. VII, no. 4, 270.

[160] "Máté Ilona," *Művészet*, 1908, vol. VII, no. 6, 419.

[161] Ibid.

[162] *Szablya-Frischauf Ferenc és tanítványai*, Catalogue, 1906; *1909 november hó: A "Kéve" második kiállítása, "Nemzeti Szalon,"* Catalogue, 1909; *A "Kéve" I. kiállítása, Feb. 1908,* Catalogue, 1908.

[163] "Képzőművészet," *Budapesti Hírlap,* Jan. 23, 1910, 19. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[164] Elizabeth Clegg, *Art, Design, and Architecture in Central Europe 1890–1920* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 105.

[165] L.A. [Alfréd Lakos], "Magyar festők Bécsben," *Magyar Szó,* Jan. 29, 1910, II. In Tímár, *Utak II*.

[166] An organization formed around Gustav Klimt after he left the Vienna Secession. See: Alfred Weidinger and Agnes Husslein-Arco, eds., *Gustav Klimt und die Kunstschau 1908: Katalog zur Ausstellung vom 01.10.2008 bis 18.01.2009 im Belvedere Museum in Wien* (Vienna: Prestel Verlag, 2008).

[167] The leading Modernist gallery, with business operations led by the painter Carl Moll, closely associated with both the Secession and also the *Wiener Werkstätte*. Interestingly, it was located in the former *Nákó Palais* were Countess Nákó [see Chapter 1 and Chapter 4] would have held her cultured salon in the 1850s and 60s.

[168] *A Kéve III*, Catalogue, 1911.

[169] Bálint Aladár, "A "Kéve" tizedik esztendeje," *Nyugat*, 1917, no. 22.

[170] "Salon des refusés," *Budapest*, March 31, 1908, 10. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[171] "A visszautasított művészek akciója," *Független Magyarország*, March 29, 1908, 15. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[172] "Salon des refusés," *Budapest*, March 31, 1908. 10. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[173] "A tavaszi tárlot," *Budapest*, March 31, 1908, 10. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[174] "Visszautasítottak szalonja," *Pesti Napló*, March 31, 1908, 15. In: Tímár, *Utak I*

[175] "Salon des Refusés," *Budapesti Napló*, April 2, 1908, 9. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[176] "Képzőművészet," *Budapesti Hirlap,* April 5, 1908, 16. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[177] "A Műcsarnokból visszautasított művészek," *Az Ujság*, April 14, 1908, 16. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[178] "Visszautasítottak kiállítása," *Budapest*, April 15, 1908, 11. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[179] Md. [Dezső Malonyay], "Visszautasítottak kiállítása," *Budapesti Hirlap*, April 15, 1908, 11. And B-t. [Bálint Aladár], "Visszautasítottak kiállítása," *Népszava,* April 15, 1908, 4. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[180] L.G. [Géza Lengyel], "A Visszautasítottak," *A Polgár*, April 15, 1908, 7. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[181] "Visszautasítottak szalonja," *Az Ujság*, April 18, 1908, 12. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[182] "Visszautasítottak kiállítása," *Pesti Napló,* April 30, 1908, 16. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[183] Teréz Gerszi, *A magyar kőrajzolás,* 71.

[184] Baron Alexander von Bach, Franz Josef's Minister of the Interior following the defeat of the Revolutions of 1848–49, and the one who defined the reactionary policies of the era.

[185] Bíró et al., *Nyomdászati Lexikon*, 276.

[186] Gerszi, 85.

[187] *Délibáb,* 1857, 311.

[188] *Pesti Műegylet Évkönyve,* 1860. The copper-plate engraver they consigned it to was most likely Artaria and Co.

[189] *Pesti Műegylet Évkönye,* 1862.

[190] *OMKT* Lt. 1867/132. In Pipacs, "Emlékek."

[191] *OMKT* Lt. 1867/66. In Pipacs, "Emlékek."

[192] Gerszi, *A magyar kőrajzolás…*, 21. The term *arany* is here understood to be the 8 forint gold coin, which would correctly correspond for the prices given for oil paintings which are 12–15 *arany,* and should therefore correspond to approximately 96–120 forints.

[193] Gerszi, *A magyar kőrajzolás…*, 78.

[194] Comparing the low estimate to low estimate: 24–50, and using the short range: 1833–1860, we get 2.7% growth. Comparing high to high and using the long range: 1833–1870, we get 1% growth. In either case, these growth rates lag significantly behind the 7–8% growth in the labor pool. [See Chapter 3]

[195] Entry on "Könyves Kálmán" in the *Révai Lexikon* (Budapest: Révai Testvérek Irodalmi Intézet Rt., 1915).

[196] Erika Szurcsikné Molnár, "A Könyves Kálmán Műintézet tevékenységének története," *Ars Hungarica,*1985/2, 161–2.

[197] See: *Charles Palmier Gyűjteményes kiállítása a Könyves Kálmán Szalonjában*, Catalogue, 1907; and *Boehm Rita kiállítása*, catalogue, 1909, as examples.

[198] *Paál László (1849–1879) tájképeinek második sorozatos kiállítása,* Catalogue, 1910.

[199] Molnár, "A Könyves Kálmán Műintézet…," 162.

[200] "Hazai Krónika," *Művészet,* 1905, vol. IV, no. 6, 409.

[201] Gerszi, *A magyar kőrajzolás…,* 81.

[202] *Kiváló műlapok jegyzéke* (Budapest: Könyves Kálmán Műkiadó Rt., printed by Révai és Salamon. Rt., 1905), 140–150.

[203] For example, Gyula Benczúr's *Milenáris hódolat* [Millenium Tribute] was offered for 200 korona for a numbered version with the artist's signature.

[204] See the following three years: *Kiváló műlapok jegyzéke* (Budapest: Könyves Kálmán Műkiadó Rt., printed by Révai és Salamon Rt., 1904, 1905, 1914).

[205] Erica Molnar, "Könyves Kálmán Art Institute," Zsófia Németh, ed., *Public Spaces of Modern Architecture, 2: Artists' Studios and Exhibitions Spaces* (Budapest: Ernst Museum, 2003), 222, 226.

[206] *Kiváló Műlapok Jegyzéke*, inside cover.

[207] This work attracted a great deal of attentionat the *OMKT* Winter 1900 Salon because of its large size and the 20,000 korona price tag, but in the Index it is reduced to such a small size it is crowded even on its own page.

[208] *Kiváló műlapok jegyzéke*

[209] The advertisement for the collection of drawings was even shown in the *Kiváló műlapok jegyzéke* from 1914.

[210] Fényes, Ferenczy, Glatz, Iványi-Grünwald, Kernstok, Mednyánszky, Magyar Mannheimer, Olgyay, Rippl-Rónai, Szinyei Merse, Vaszary, and Zombory.

[211] *Kiváló műlapok jegyzéke*, 5. Introduction.

[212] Gerszi, *A magyar kőrajzolás…,* 170.

[213] *Műcsarnok*, 1900. Dec. 9.

[214] *Műcsarnok,* 1900, Feb. 10.

[215] Gerszi, *A magyar kőrajzolás…,* 165.

[216] *Kiváló műlapok jegyzéke.* Advertisement at the back promoting their Season Ticket, which also permits entry to the auctions.

[217] "Az első magyar művészi szalon," *Budapesti Napló,* Nov. 28, 1903, 14. In: Árpád Tímár, "A MIÉNK művészegyesület története a koralbeli sajtó tükrében," *Művészettörténeti Ertesitő*, 2008, vol. 57, 50.

[218] *Művészeti Krónika,* Feb. 15, 1904, vol. I, no. 2, 5.

[219] "Modern magyar festők kiállítása," *Pesti Hírlap*, Mar. 12, 1904, 9. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[220] "Modern magyar festők," *Budapesti Napló*, Mar. 12, 1904, 8. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[221] Ilona Sármány-Parsons, "A modern magyar festők első kiállítása Bécsben," in *Írások Tímár Árpád tiszteletére*, István Bardoly, László Jurecskó, György Sümegi, eds. (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutatóintézet; MissionArt Galéria, 2009), 173–84.

[222] *Max Liebermann, Louis Corinth, Walter Leistikow,* és *Max Slevogt kiállítása,* Catalogue, 1908. Two Manets were offered at the 1907 Nemzeti Szalon French Artists show at 150,000 francs each (approx. 100,000 korona).

[223] Letter from Rippl-Rónai to his brother Ödön, March 11, 1906. In: Bernáth Mária, *Rippl-Rónai József* (Budapest: SZEMIMPEX, 2005), 159.

[224] "Új művészeti szalon," *Pesti Napló*, Sept. 2, 1906, 17. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[225] ml [László Márkus], "Kézdi-Kovács László kiállítása," *Alkotmány,* November 8, 1906, 10. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[226] "A párizsi Őszi Szalon," *Budapesti Hírlap,* Oct. 9, 1906, 11. And also: Károly Lendvai, "Courbet, Carriére, Gaughin," *Pesti Napló*, Nov. 1, 1906, 7–8. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[227] *Szikszay kiállítása a "Könyves Kálmán" Szalonjában*, Feb. 8–22, 1907, catalogue, 1907.

[228] "Szikszay Ferenc kiállítása," *Népszava,* Feb. 7, 1907, 5. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[229] "A párizsi őszi szalon," *Budapesti Hírlap,* Oct. 9, 1907, 13. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[230] "Magyar képírók Párizsban," *Magyarország,* Oct. 9, 1907, 13. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[231] "Hungarian Painters at the Exhibitions of the Salon d'Automne," In: Passuth, *Hungarian Fauves…* The new *societaires* were Arthur Lakatos and Lorand de Zubritsky. From 1903–7 Szikszay was the only Hungarian to hold that status, making him, in essence, the premier Hungarian in the Paris art world, now that Munkácsy had died.

[232] D.i. "Szikszay Ferenc," *Művészet,* 1908, vol. 4, no. 4, 275–6.

[233] István Forbáth, "Az 'Ifjúság' kiállítása," *A Polgár,* June 7, 1907, 9. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[234] Géza Márkus, "Fiatalság: A Könyves Kálmán kiállítása," *Magyar Hírlap*, June 5, 1907, 9. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[235] Y-n [Yartin/József Nyitray], "A legfiatalabb művészet," *A Hét,* June 9, 1907, vol. XVIII, no. 23, 398.

[236] *Uj képek kiállítása a Könyves Kálmán szalonjában,* Catalogue, 1909.

[237] k.k.l. [László Kézdi-Kovács], "Giccs-kiállítás," Dec. 31, 1909, *Pesti Hírlap,* 8. In: Tímár, *Utak II.*

[238] r.ö. [Ödön Rottenbiller], "Uj képek kiállítása a Könyves Kálmán szalonjában," *Független Magyarország*, Jan.1, 1910, 15. In: Tímár, *Utak II.*

[239] György Lukács, "Az utak elváltak," *Nyugat,* Feb. 1, 1910, vol. III, no. 3, 190–3.

[240] Dezső Malonyay, "Rippl-Rónai József képkiállítás," *Budapesti Hírlap,* Jan. 30, 1906, 10. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[241] József Prém, "Rippl-Rónai kiállítása," *Budapest,* Jan. 30, 1906, 9–10. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[242] Letter from Rippl-Rónai to his brother Ödön, Feb. 7, 1906. In Bernáth, *Rippl-Rónai József*, 159.

[243] *Rippl-Rónai József műveinek aukciós katalógusa*. The quotes are from *Az Ujság, Uj Idők*, and *Magyar Hírlap*, respectively.

[244] "Rippl-Rónai József feljegyzései egy hajóútján," Sándor Kávássy, *Jelenkor,* 1964, no. 11, 1057. In Bernáth, *Rippl-Rónai József*, 159.

[245] Ibid.

[246] Rippl-Rónai's letter to his brother Ödön. March 11, 1906. In Bernáth, *Rippl-Rónai József*, 159.

[247] See chart for *OMKT* purchasing 1877–1910 in Table 3.2.

[248] *Kiváló műlapok jegyzéke*, displays prices for aquarelle-facsimile technique ranging from 50–142 korona and for heliogravures, which would be slightly more expensive, ranging from 50–200 korona.

[249] See Appendix I database.

[250] "Jótékony célú képsorsolás," *Somogyvármegye*, 1905, Dec. 29, 4. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[251] József Yartin [Nyitray], *A Műcsarnok tavaszi kiállítása, Az Ujság,* Apr. 3, 1909, 1. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[252] Nemo [Nagy Endre], "Képek," *A Polgár,* November 14, 1905, 1–2. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[253] *1905–6 OMKT Téli Tárlat,* catalogue, 1905.

[254] "Új művészeti vállalat," *Egyetértés,* Feb. 8, 1908, 11. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[255] "Magyar Művészet Műkereskedés," *Magyar Hírlap,* Feb. 9, 1908, 14–5. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[256] "Kiállítások," *Rajzoktatás,* Feb. 15, 19018, vol. XI, no. 2, 71. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[257] "A nagyváradi műtárlat," *Nagyváradi Friss Ujság,* March 26, 1908, 2. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[258] "A nagyváradi műtárlat," *Nagyváradi Napló,* March 31, 1908, 6. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[259] "Tavaszi tárlat a megyeházán," *Szabadság* [Nagyvárad], April 1, 1908, 6. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[260] "A nagyváradi tárlat," *Nagyvárad,* April 2, 1908, 9. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[261] "A magyar művészet nagyváradi tárlatán," *Nagyvárad,* April 3, 1908, 6. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[262] Ákos Dutka, "A Magyar Művészet tárlatán," *Nagyvárad,* April 4, 1908, 1–2. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[263] "Két képkiállítás," *Nagyváradi Friss Ujság,* April 6, 1908, 2. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[264] "Vay Péter gróf lemondása," *Tiszántul* [Nagyvárad], April 15, 1908, 4. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[265] Tövis [Miklós Rózsa], "Ígéretek," A Hét, Aug. 23, 1908, vol. XIX, no. 34, 551. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[266] Miklós Rózsa, "A Modern Művészet Háza," *Egyetértés,* May 30, 1909, 15. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[267] Géza Lengyel, "Művészház," *Nyugat,* June 1, 1909, vol. II, no. 10–1, 597–8.

[268] K. [Ferenc Kanizsai], "Művészház," *Magyar Hírlap,* Dec. 21, 1909, 1–2. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[269] "Művészház," *Budapesti Hírlap,* Dec. 5, 1909, 16. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[270] In the section called: "*Tudnivalók*." Located at the end of: *A Művészház első csoportos kiállítása.* Catalogue,1909.

[271] "Művészház," *Budapesti Hírlap,* Dec. 8, 1909, 13. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[272] Tövis [Miklós Rózsa], "Művészház," *A Hét,* Dec. 12, 1909, vol. XX, no. 50, 831–3. In: Tímár, *Utak II.* Rózsa clearly was willing play both the role of impresario and also outside critic.

[273] K.k.l. [László Kézdi-Kovács], "A Művészház," *Pesti Hírlap,* Dec. 8, 1909, 5–6. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[274] *A Művészház: Első Csoportos Kiállítása,* Catalogue. 1909.

[275] Elek Magyar, "A Művészház Első Kiállítása," *Magyarország,* Dec. 8, 1909, 14. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[276] Ödön Rottenbiller, "A Művészház bemutató kiállítása," *Független Magyarország*, Dec. 8. 1909, 11. In: Tímár, *Utak II*.

[277] László Bányász, "Képkiállítások," *Ország-Világ,* Jan. 16, 1910, vol. XXXI, no. 3, 59. In: Tímár, *Utak II.*

[278] r.ö. [Ödön Rottenbiller], "Új kiállítás a Művészházban," *Független Magyarország*, Jan. 12, 1910. 11. In: Tímár, *Utak II.*

[279] M. [Ernő Margitay], "A Művészház második kiállítása," *Élet,* Jan. 16, 1910, vol. III, no. 90–1. In: Tímár, *Utak II.*

[280] "A Művészház új kiállítása," *A Hét*, Jan. 16, 1910, vol. XXI, no. 3, 48. In: Tímár, *Utak II.*

[281] M. [Ernő Margitay], "A Művészház második kiállítása," *Élet,* Jan. 16, 1910, vol. III, no. 90–91, In: Tímár, *Utak II.*

[282] -a–s. [Miklós Rózsa], "Új Kiállítások," *Alkotmány,* Jan. 13, 1910, 1–2. In: Tímár, *Utak II.*

[283] D.B. [Béla Déry], "A Művészház harmadik kiállítása," *Magyar Estilap,* Feb 12, 1910, 2. In: Tímár, *Utak II.*

[284] *A Művészház harmadik csoportos kiállítása 1910 február havában,* Catalogue, 1910. Three sculptors also showed.

[285] "A Művészház új kiállítása," *Magyar Hírlap,* Feb. 13, 1910, 14. In: Tímár, *Utak II.*

[286] A leading Modernist collector.

[287] Kywrth. [György Kürthy], "Művészház," *Kritika,* Mar. 1, 1910, vol. I, no. 1, 12–3. In: Tímár, *Utak II.*

[288] "Magyarok az impresszionista kiállításon," *Magyarország,* Apr. 20, 1910, 14. In: Tímár, *Utak II.*

[289] "A Nemzetközi impresszionista kiállítás," Magyar Hírlap, May 1, 1910, 14. In: Tímár, *Utak II.*

[290] "A Művészház záróünnepe," *Kolozsvári Hirlap*, July 19, 1910, 3–4. In: Tímár, *Utak II.*

[291] Ibid.

[292] Aladár Bodor, "Művészek Kolozsvárt," *Ujság* [Kolozsvár], Jul. 21, 1910, 1–2. In: Tímár, *Utak II.*

[293] *A Művészház zsűrimentes kiállítása 1910 szeptember havában,* Catalogue, 1910. From the introduction.

[294] Both have works on permanent display in the Hungarian National Gallery, in the section for the first half of the twentieth century.

[295] "A 'Művészház' szerződése," *Pesti Hirlap,* Sept. 21, 1910, 35. In: Tímár, *Utak II.*

[296] "Revolver a Művészház közgyűlésén," *Az Est,* Sept. 22, 1910, 3 In: Tímár, *Utak II.*

[297] "Botrány a 'Művészház'-ban," *Pesti Hirlap,* Sept. 22, 1910, 5. In: Tímár, *Utak II.*

[298] Ibid.

[299] "A Művészház ideiglenes bezárása," *Magyar Nemzet,* Oct. 11, 1910, 12. In: Tímár, *Utak II.*

[300] "Rózsa Miklóst felmentették," *Az Est,* Nov. 18, 1910, 5. In: Tímár, *Utak II.*

[301] Kohner was the most important donor to the International Impressionism exhibition.

[302] "A Művészház új hajléka," *Magyar Nemzet*, Nov. 6, 1910, 12. In: Tímár, *Utak II.*

[303] Dezső Rózsaffy, "Andorkó Gyula," *Nyugat,* 1911, no. 1.

[304] The painting was titled *Búcsú* [Fairwell]. His name is incorrectly listed as Andorkó József in the list of non-member participants in the catalog.

[305] "Krónika," *Művészet*, 1909, vol. VIII, no. 3, 200.

[306] "Krónika," *Művészet*, 1911, vol. X, no. 2, 82.

[307] "Krónika," *Művészet*, 1911, vol. X, no. 4, 195.

[308] Ferenc Bor and Livia Fenesi, "Corso Mozi," *A budapesti mozi 100* éve (Budapest: Ernst Múzeum, 2001), 185.

[309] "Tibor Ernő kiállítása," *Pesti Napló,* Nov. 10, 1910, 13. The catalogue, however, had already been printed by this time and showed the Váci utca 9 address, and even still listed Mihályi Deák as the business director.

[310] L.A. [Alfréd Lakos], "A Művészház kiállítása, Az 'ellenszalon," *Magyar Szó*, Nov. 27, 1910, II–III. In: Tímár, *Utak II.*

[311] *A Művészház téli kiállítása 1910 november havában*, Catalogue, 1910.

[312] (…) [Kézdi-Kovács László], "Ellenszalon?" *Pesti Hirlap,* Nov. 27, 1910, 9. In: Tímár, *Utak II.*

[313] L.A. [Alfréd Lakos], "A Művészház kiállítása…" *Magyar Szó*, Nov. 27, 1910, II–III. Lakos speaks from experience here, since he himself had not only taken part in the first *Visszautasítottak Szalonja* but even drew the caricatures for the catalogue. See: Fig. 3.13.

[314] The issue of huge numbers of refused artworks never would go away. For example, in 1912, the *OMKT* had 1,869 works submitted for consideration and rejected 1,059 of them. Lyka, *Festészeti* életünk…, 29.

[315] Emil Pirchan, *Művészek műhelytitkai* (Budapest: Dante Könyvkiadó, 1945), 72.

[316] *Kalauz a Művészház Kernstok Károly kiállításához*, Catalogue.

[317] András Zwickl, "Commercial Activities and Cultural Mission—The Budapest "Művészház," (Artists' House) (1909–1914)," in: Ján Bakoš, ed., *Artwork Through the Market: The Past and the Present*. (Bratislava: VEDA, vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 2004), 199.

[318] "Művészklub vagy játékbarlang? Botrány a művészek gyűlésén," *Pesti Napló,* Dec. 31, 1912, 8–9. In: Tímár, *Utak II*

[319] András Zwickl, *A Művészház 1909–1914: Modern kiállítások Budapesten*. (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria), 18.

[320] Ibid., 241.

[321] Enikő Róka, "Lajos Ernst and the Ernst Museum," *Public Spaces of Modern Architecture in Budapest/2* (Budapest: Ernst Múzeum, 2006), 150.

[322] Lajos Ernst, "Előljáró beszéd," In: *Ernst Múzeum ideiglenes katalógus*, Catalogue, 1912, 4.

[323] "Hajsza a Nemzeti Szalon ellen," *Pesti Hirlap,* May 20, 1909, 7. In: Tímár, *Utak II.*

[324] Ernő Margitay, "A Nemzeti Szalon Kiállítása," *Élet,* June 6, 1909, vol. I, no. 23, 751–2. In: Tímár, *Utak II.*

[325] "Művészház," *Budapesti Hírlap,* Dec. 5, 1909, 16. In: Tímár, *Utak II.*

[326] "Matiné a Művészház," *Kolozsvári Hirlap*, Jul. 2, 1910, 5. In: Tímár, *Utak II.*

[327] Dávid Ferenc, "The Ernst Museum, Inside and Out," *Public Spaces of Modern Architecture in Budapest/2* (Budapest: Ernst Múzeum, 2006), 170.

[328] Ibid., 169.

[329] "Tivoli Mozi," *A budapesti mozi 100* éve…, 250.

[330] Ferenc, "The Ernst Museum…," 170.

[331] *Ernst Múzeum ideiglenes katalógus,* Catalogue, 1912.

[332] *Pesti Műegylet* catalogues had been in German and Hungarian; while others, like the *Nemzeti Szalon* 1901 International, or Szikszay's 1905 one-man show, had been in French and Hungarian, but no one to this point had combined all three languages.

[333] From Valéria Grünwald's memoirs in the Grant from 1941, in Judit Gömöry, "Ernst Lajos és a Japán Kávéház Művészasztala," In: Enikő Róka, *Egy gyűjtő és gyűjteménye: Ernst Lajos* és *az Ernst Múzeum,* (Budapest: Ernst Múzeum, 2002), 218.

[334] Ibid., 219.

[335] Róka, 155.

[336] A currency introduced in 1925 after the korona collapsed into hyperinflation following the First World War and the dissolution of the empire.

[337] Róka, "Lajos Ernst and the Ernst Museum," 160.

Conclusion

[1] "Kéve," *Egyetértés*, Nov. 1, 1907, 15. The *M.I.É.N.K.* was formed on October 25. The *Kéve* probably a few days later, given the date of the article regarding the formation.

[2] "Kéve," *Magyar Hírlap*, Feb. 2, 1908. 15. In Tímár, *Utak I*.

[3] "Új művészeti vállalat," *Egyetértés*, Feb. 8, 1908, 11. In Tímár, *Utak I*.

[4] Bölöni György, "A MIÉNK," *Magyar Nemzet*, Jan. 12, 1910, 2. In Tímár *Utak I*.

[5] Rózsa Miklós, "A magyar szecesszió," *Budapesti Napló*, May 16, 1905, 9 In Tímár, *Utak I*.

[6] Márkus László, "A tavaszi tárlat," *Alkotmány*, May 19, 1905, 2–3. In Tímár, *Utak I*.

[7] "Téli tárlat," *Alkotmány*, November 14, 1905, 12. This article was written in reference to the *OMKT*'s 1905–6 Winter salon. In Tímár, *Utak I*.

[8] L.G. [Géza Lengyel], "A Nemzeti Szalon viszálya," *Huszadik Század*, June 1909, vol. X, no. 6, 566–9. In Tímár, *Utak I*.

[9] Géza Lengyel, "Művészház," *Nyugat*, June 1, 1909, 9.

[10] "Szecesszió," *Modern Művészet*, November 1905, vol. I, no. 2, 124.

[11] Aladár Erdey, "A Nemzeti Szalon tárlatai," *Budapesti Szemle*, March 1908, vol. CXXXIII, no. 375, 459–61. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[12] Zoltan Ambrus, "A Magyar Szecesszionisták," *Pesti Napló*, Dec. 18, 1898, vol. XLIX, no. 349, 2–3. In: Arpád Tímár, ed., *A Nagybányai Művészet* és *Művésztelep a Magyar Sajtóban 1896-1909*, (Budapest: MissionArt Galéria, 1997), 167–8.

[13] "Szecesszió," *Népszava,* Oct. 15, 1907, 4. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[14] Alfréd Lakos, "Vége a szecesszionak," *Magyar Szó*, April 15, 1906, 17–8. Though it is unclear what exactly he considered the Secession to be, he came to the conclusion that it has ended because the other great conservative critic, László Kézdi-Kovács, had quoted a third writer who was also critical of the "Ultra-Moderns," and this represented a groundswell of disapproval among the art critics.

[15] Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (New York: Penguin Classics, (1860) 1990), 23.

[16] "Képzőművészeti hírek," *Magyar Nemzet*, Apr. 6, 1906. 9.

[17] Artúr Bárdos, "A téli tárlat," Egyetértés. Nov. 13, 1906, 1. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[18] "Magyar Szecesszió," *Egyetértés,* Oct. 27, 1907, 11. In: Tímár, *Utak I.*

[19] László Kézdi-Kovács, "Botrányos művész-közgyűlés. A 'hóbortos' és a 'komoly művészek' harca." *Pesti Hírlap,* May 7, 1907, in: Árpád Tímár, "A Miénk Művész-egyesület Története a Korabeli Sajtó Tükrében," *Művészettörténeti Értesítő,* vol. 57 (2008), 63.

[20] A term derived from Henrik Ibsen's *Enemy of the People*, referring to the dangers of philistinism deriving from liberal democracy.

[21] Béla Lázár, "Kavarodás a Művészet Körül: A Nemzeti Szalon közgyűlés," *Magyar Szó*, May 7, 1907, 6. In: Tímár, *Utak I*.

[22] Ibid.

[23] As of 2011 superseded by a new institution, the Budapest Art Market.

[24] See Table 3.2.

Index of Names, Places, Movements, and Institutions

Page numbers in bold refer to pages in the appendix, those in italics indicate illustrations.

A

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